

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D: D. S. P. D.:

WITH
NOTES HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

BY
J. HAWKESWORTH, L. L. D.
AND OTHERS.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by MRS. MUNDELL, Old Excise-Office;
by DAVID WILLISON, Craig's Close; and by
CHURNSIDE and WILSON, Royal Bank Close;
the Publishers. 1778.



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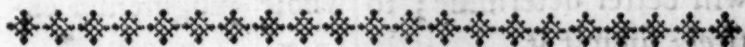
DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

MECHANICAL OPERATION of the SPIRIT:

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

A FRAGMENT.



VOL. II.

A

THE BOOKSELLER'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following discourse came into my hands perfect and entire. But there being several things in it which the present age would not very well bear, I kept it by me some years, resolving it should never see the light. At length, by the advice and assistance of a judicious friend, I retrenched those parts that might give most offence, and have now ventured to publish the remainder. Concerning the author, I am wholly ignorant: Neither can I conjecture, whether it be the same with that of the two foregoing pieces; the original having been sent me at a different time, and in a different hand. The learned reader will better determine; to whose judgment I entirely submit it.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

MECHANICAL OPERATION of the SPIRIT.*

*For T. H. Esq; † at his chambers in the academy of
the Beaux-Esprits in New England.*

SIR,

IT is now a good while since I have had in my head something, not only very material, but absolutely necessary to my health, that the world should be informed in. For, to tell you a secret, I am able to *contain* it no longer.

A 2

However,

* This discourse is not altogether equal to the former, the best parts of it being omitted. Whether the bookseller's account be true, that he durst not print the rest, I know not: nor indeed is it easy to determine, whether he may be relied on in any thing he says of this, or the former treatises, only as to the time they were writ in: which, however, appears more from the discourses themselves, than his relation.

This discourse is a satire against enthusiasm, and those affected inspirations, which constantly begin in folly, and very often end in vice. In this treatise, the author has revelled in too licentious a vein of sarcasm: many of his ideas are nauseous, some are indecent, and others have an irreligious tendency. Nor is the piece itself equal in wit and humour, either to *The Tale of a Tub*, or *The Battle of the Books*. I should constantly chuse rather to praise, than to arraign any part of Swift's writings: but in those tracts where he tries to make us uneasy with ourselves, and unhappy in our present existence, *there* I must yield him up entirely to censure. *Orrery*.

† Supposed to be Col. Hunter.

However, I have been perplexed for some time, to resolve what would be the most proper form to send it abroad in. To which end, I have been three days courting through Westminster-hall, and St. Paul's church-yard, and Fleet-street, to peruse *titles*; and I do not find any which holds so general a vogue, as that of *A letter to a friend*. Nothing is more common than to meet with long epistles addressed to persons and places, where, at first thinking, one would be apt to imagine it not altogether so necessary or convenient; such as, *a neighbour at next door, a mortal enemy, a perfect stranger, or a person of quality in the clouds*; and these upon subjects, in appearance, the least proper for conveyance by the post; as, *long schemes in philosophy, dark and wonderful mysteries of state, laborious dissertations in criticism and philosophy, advice to parliaments*, and the like.

Now, Sir, to proceed after the method in present wear: (for, let me say what I will to the contrary, I am afraid you will publish this *letter*, as soon as ever it comes to your hand:) I desire you will be my witness to the world, how careless and sudden a scribble it has been; that it was but yesterday, when you and I began accidentally to fall into discourse on this matter; that I was not very well when we parted; that the post is in such haste, I have had no manner of time to digest it into order, or correct the style; and if any other modern excuses, for haste and negligence, shall occur to you in reading, I beg you
to

to insert them, faithfully promising they shall be thankfully acknowledged.

Pray, Sir, in your next letter to the *Iroquois virtuosi*, do me the favour to present my humble service to that illustrious body; and assure them, I shall send an account of those *phenomena*, as soon as we can determine them at Gresham.

I have not had a line from the *literati* of Tobinambou these three last ordinaries.

And now, Sir, having dispatched what I had to say, of forms, or of business, let me intreat, you will suffer me to proceed upon my subject; and to pardon me, if I make no further use of the epistolary style, till I come to conclude.

S E C T. I.

IT is recorded of Mahomet, that, upon a visit he was going to pay in Paradise, he had an offer of several vehicles to conduct him upwards; as fiery chariots, winged horses, and celestial sedans: but he refused them all, and would be borne to heaven upon nothing but his *ass*. Now, this inclination of Mahomet, as singular as it seems, hath been since taken up by a great number of devout *Christians*; and doubtless with very good reason. For since that Arabian is known to have borrowed a moiety of his religious system from the *Christian* faith, it is but just he should pay reprisals to such as would challenge them; where-

in the good people of England, to do them all right, have not been backward. For though there is not any other nation in the world so plentifully provided with carriages for that journey, either as to safety or ease, yet there are abundance of us, who will not be satisfied with any other machine, besides this of Mahomet.

For my own part, I must confess to bear a very singular respect to this animal, by whom I take human nature to be most admirably held forth, in all its qualities, as well as operations: and, therefore, whatever in my small reading occurs, concerning this our fellow-creature, I do never fail to set it down by way of common-place; and, when I have occasion to write upon human reason, politics, eloquence, or knowledge, I lay my *memorandums* before me, and insert them with a wonderful facility of application. However, among all the qualifications ascribed to this distinguished brute, by ancient or modern authors, I cannot remember this talent, of bearing his rider to heaven, has been recorded for a part of his character, except in the two examples mentioned already. Therefore, I conceive the methods of this art to be a point of useful knowledge in very few hands, and which the learned world would gladly be better informed in: this is what I have undertaken to perform in the following discourse. For towards the operation already mentioned, many peculiar properties are required, both
in

in the *rider* and the *afs*; which I shall endeavour to fet in as clear a light as I can.

But, because I am resolved, by all means, to avoid giving offence to any party whatever, I will leave off discoursing so closely to the *letter* as I have hitherto done, and go on for the future by way of allegory, though in such a manner, that the judicious reader may, without much straining, make his applications, as often as he shall think fit. Therefore, if you please, from henceforward, instead of the term *afs*, we shall make use of *gifted*, or *enlightened teacher*; and the word *rider* we will exchange for that of *fanatic auditory*, or any other denomination of the like import. Having settled this weighty point, the great subject of enquiry before us, is, to examine, by what methods this *teacher* arrives at his *gifts*, or *spirit*, or *light*; and by what intercourse between him and his assembly it is cultivated and supported.

In all my writings, I have had constant regard to this great end, not to suit and apply them to particular occasions, and circumstances of time, of place, or of person; but to calculate them for universal nature, and mankind in general. And of such catholic use I esteem this present disquisition: for I do not remember any other temper of body, or quality of mind, wherein all nations and ages of the world have so unanimously agreed, as that of a *fanatic* strain, or tincture of *enthusiasm*; which, improved by certain persons or societies of men, and by them practised upon the rest,

rest, has been able to produce revolutions of the greatest figure in history; as will soon appear to those who know any thing of Arabia, Persia, India, or China, of Morocco and Peru. Farther, it has possessed as great a power in the kingdom of knowledge, where it is hard to assign one art or science, which has not annexed to it some *fanatic* branch: such are the *philosopher's stone*, the *grand elixir* *, the *planetary worlds*, the *squaring of the circle*, the *summum bonum*, *Utopian commonwealths*, with some others of less or subordinate note; which all serve for nothing else, but to employ or amuse this grain of *enthusiasm*, dealt into every composition.

But if this plant has found a root in the fields of *Empire* and of *Knowledge*, it has fixed deeper, and spread yet farther upon *holy ground*: wherein, though it hath passed under the general name of *enthusiasm*, and perhaps arisen from the same original, yet hath it produced certain branches of a very different nature, however often mistaken for each other. The word, in its universal acceptance, may be defined, *A lifting up of the soul, or its faculties, above matter*. This description will hold good in general: but I am only to understand it as applied to *religion*; wherein there are three general ways of ejaculating the soul, or transporting it beyond the sphere of matter. The first is the immediate act of God, and is called *prophecy* or *inspiration*. The second is the immediate

* Some writers hold them for the same, others not.

OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT. 9

mediate act of the devil, and is termed *possession*. The third is the product of natural causes, the effect of strong imagination, spleen, violent anger, fear, grief, pain, and the like. These three have been abundantly treated on by authors, and therefore shall not employ my enquiry. But the fourth method of *religious enthusiasm*, or launching out of the soul, as it is purely an effect of *artifice* and *mechanic operation*, has been sparingly handled, or not at all, by any writer; because, though it is an art of great antiquity, yet, having been confined to few persons, it long wanted those advancements and refinements which it afterwards met with, since it has grown so epidemic, and fallen into so many cultivating hands.

It is therefore upon this *mechanical operation of the spirit* that I mean to treat, as it is at present performed by our *British workmen*. I shall deliver to the reader the result of many judicious observations upon the matter; tracing, as near as I can, the whole course and method of this *trade*; producing parallel instances, and relating certain discoveries that have luckily fallen in my way.

I have said, that there is one branch of *religious enthusiasm*, which is purely an effect of nature; whereas the part I mean to handle, is wholly an effect of art, which, however, is inclined to work upon certain natures and constitutions, more than others. Besides, there is many an operation, which, in its original, was purely an artifice; but, through a long succession of ages, hath grown to

to be natural. Hippocrates tells us, that among our ancestors the Scythians, there was a nation called *Longheads* *, which at first began by a custom among midwives and nurses, of moulding, and squeezing, and bracing up the heads of infants; by which means, nature, shut out at one passage, was forced to seek another, and, finding room above, shot upwards in the form of a sugar-loaf; and being diverted that way, for some generations, at last found it out of herself, needing no assistance from the nurse's hand. This was the original of the Scythian *Longheads*; and thus did custom, from being a second nature, proceed to be a first. To all which there is something very analogous among us of this nation, who are the undoubted posterity of that refined people. For, in the age of our fathers, there arose a generation of men in this island, called *Roundheads*, † whose race is now spread over three kingdoms; yet, in its beginning, was merely an operation of art, produced by a pair of scissars, a squeeze of the face, and a black cap. These heads, thus formed into a perfect sphere in all assemblies, were most exposed to the view of the female sort; which

* *Macrocephali*;

† The Fanatics in the time of Charles I. ignorantly applying the text, *Ye know that it is a shame for men to have long hair*, cut theirs very short. It is said, that the Queen, once seeing Pym, a celebrated patriot, thus cropped, enquired who that *round-headed* man was; and that from this incident the distinction became general, and the party were called *Round-heads*. *Hawkes*.

which did influence their conceptions so effectually, that nature at last took the hint, and did it of herself; so that a *Round-head* has been, ever since, as familiar a sight among us, as a *Long-head* among the Scythians.

Upon these examples, and others easy to produce, I desire the curious reader to distinguish, first, between an effect grown from *art* into *nature*, and one that is natural from its beginning; secondly, between an effect wholly natural, and one which has only a natural foundation, but where the superstructure is entirely artificial. For the first and the last of these, I understand to come within the districts of my subject. And having obtained these allowances, they will serve to remove any objection that may be raised hereafter against what I shall advance.

The practitioners of this famous art proceed in general upon the following fundamental, That *the corruption of the senses is the generation of the spirit*; because the senses in men are so many avenues to the fort of *reason*, which in this operation is wholly blocked up. All endeavours must be therefore used, either to divert, bind up, stupefy, fluster, and amuse the *senses*, or else to juggle them out of their stations; and, while they are either absent, or otherwise employed, or engaged in a civil war against each other, the *spirit* enters, and performs its part.

Now, the usual methods of managing the senses upon such conjunctures, are what I shall be very

ry particular in delivering, as far as it is lawful for me to do; but having had the honour to be initiated into the mysteries of every society, I desire to be excused from divulging any rites, wherein the *profane* must have no part.

But here, before I can proceed farther, a very dangerous objection must, if possible, be removed. For it is positively denied by certain critics, that the *spirit* can by any means be introduced into an assembly of modern saints; the disparity being so great, in many material circumstances, between the primitive way of inspiration, and that which is practised in the present age. This they pretend to prove from the 2d chapter of the *Acts*, where, comparing both, it appears, first, that *the apostles were gathered together with one accord in one place*; by which is meant an universal agreement in opinion and form of worship; a harmony, say they, so far from being found between any two conventicles among us, that it is in vain to expect it between any two heads in the same. Secondly, The *spirit* instructed the apostles in the gift of speaking several languages; a knowledge so remote from our dealers in this art, that they neither understand propriety of words, or phrases, in their own. Lastly, say these objectors, The modern artists do utterly exclude all approaches of the *spirit*, and bar up its ancient way of entering, by covering themselves so close, and so industriously a-top. For they will needs have it as a point clearly gained, that the *cloven tongues*
never

never sat upon the apostles heads, while there hats were on.

Now, the force of these objections seems to consist in the different acceptation of the word *spirit*; which, if it be understood for a supernatural assistance, approaching from without, the objectors have reason, and their assertions may be allowed: but the *spirit* we treat of here, proceeding entirely from within, the argument of these adversaries wholly is eluded. And, upon the same account, our modern artificers find it an expedient of absolute necessity to cover their heads as close as they can, in order to prevent perspiration; than which, nothing is observed to be a greater spender of mechanic light, as we may perhaps farther shew in convenient place.

To proceed therefore upon the *phenomenon* of *spiritual mechanism*, it is here to be noted, that in forming and working up the *spirit*, the assembly has a considerable share, as well as the preacher. The method of this *arcanum* is as follows. They violently strain their eye-balls inward, half closing the lids; then, as they sit, they are in a perpetual motion of *see-saw*, making long hums at proper periods, and continuing the sound at equal height; chusing their time in those intermissions, while the preacher is at ebb. Neither is this practice, in any part of it, so singular and improbable, as not to be traced, in distant regions, from reading and observation. For, first,

the Jauguis, * or enlightened saints of India, see all their visions by help of an acquired straining and pressure of the eyes. Secondly, the art of *see-saw* on a beam, and swinging by session upon a cord, in order to raise artificial ecstasies, hath been derived to us from our Scythian ancestors, † where it is practised at this day among the women. Lastly, the whole proceeding, as I have here related it, is performed by the natives of Ireland, with a considerable improvement; and it is granted, that this noble nation hath of all others admitted fewer corruptions, and degenerated least from the purity of the old Tartars. Now, it is usual for a knot of Irish, men and women, to abstract themselves from matter, bind up all their senses, grow visionary and spiritual, by influence of a short pipe of tobacco handed round the company; each preserving the smoke in his mouth, till it comes again to his turn to take in fresh. At the same time, there is a concert of a continued gentle hum, repeated and renewed by instinct, as occasion requires; and they move their bodies up and down to a degree, that sometimes their heads and points lie parallel to the horizon. Mean while, you may observe their eyes turned up in the posture of one who endeavours to keep himself awake; by which, and many other symptoms among them, it manifestly appears, that the reasoning faculties are all
suspended

* Bernier mem. de Mogol.

† Guagnini hist. Sarmat.

suspended and superseded ; that imagination hath usurped the seat, scattering a thousand deliriums over the brain. Returning from this digression, I shall describe the methods by which the *spirit* approaches. The eyes being disposed according to art, at first you can see nothing ; but, after a short pause, a small glimmering light begins to appear, and dance before you. Then, by frequently moving your body up and down, you perceive the vapours to ascend very fast, till you are perfectly dosed, and flustered like one who drinks too much in a morning. Mean while the preacher is also at work ; he begins a loud hum, which pierces you quite through : this is immediately returned by the audience ; and you find yourself prompted to imitate them, by a mere spontaneous impulse, without knowing what you do. The *interstitia* are duly filled up by the preacher, to prevent too long a pause, under which the *spirit* would soon faint and grow languid.

This is all I am allowed to discover about the progress of the *spirit*, with relation to that part which is borne by the *assembly* ; but in the methods of the preacher, to which I now proceed, I shall be more large and particular.

S E C T. II.

YOU will read it very gravely remarked in the books of those illustrious and right eloquent penmen, the modern travellers, that the fundamental difference, in point of religion, between

the wild Indians and us, lies in this; that we worship *God*, and they worship the *devil*. But there are certain critics, who will by no means admit of this distinction; rather believing, that all nations whatsoever adore the *true God*, because they seem to intend their devotions to some invisible power, of greatest *goodness* and *ability* to help them; which perhaps will take in the brightest attributes ascribed to the Divinity. Others again inform us, that those idolaters adore two *principles*; the *principle of good*, and that of *evil*: which indeed I am apt to look upon as the most universal notion that mankind, by the mere light of nature, ever entertained of things invisible. How this idea hath been managed by the Indians and us, and with what advantage to the understandings of either, may well deserve to be examined. To me, the difference appears little more than this, that they are put oftener upon their knees by their *fears*, and we by our *desires*; that the former set them a *praying*, and us a *cursing*. What I applaud them for, is their discretion, in limiting their devotions and their deities to their several districts; nor ever suffering the liturgy of the *white* god, to cross or to interfere with that of the *black*. Not so with us; who, pretending, by the lines and measures of our reason, to extend the dominion of one invisible power, and contract that of the other, have discovered a gross ignorance in the natures of good and evil, and most horribly confounded the frontiers of both. After men have lifted up the throne of
their

their Divinity to the *cælum empyræum*, adorned with all such qualities and accomplishments as themselves seem most to value and possess; after they have sunk their *principle of evil* to the lowest centre, bound him with chains, loaded him with curses, furnished him with viler dispositions than any *rake-hell* of the town, accoutred him with tail, and horns, and huge claws, and saucer eyes; I laugh aloud to see these reasoners at the same time engaged in wise dispute about certain walks and purlieus, whether they are in the verge of God or the devil; seriously debating, whether such and such influences come into mens minds from above or below; whether certain passions and affections are guided by the evil spirit or the good:

*Dum fas atque nefas exiguo sine libidinum
Discernunt avidi*————

Thus do men establish a fellowship of *Christ* with *Belial*, and such is the analogy they make between *cloven tongues* and *cloven feet*. Of the like nature is the disquisition before us. It hath continued these hundred years an even debate, whether the deportment and the cant of our English enthusiastic preachers were *possession* or *inspiration*; and a world of argument has been drained on either side, perhaps to little purpose. For I think it is in *life* as in *tragedy*, where it is held a conviction of great defect, both in order and invention, to interpose the assistance of preternatural power, without an absolute and last necessity. However, it is a sketch of human vanity, for every individual

dual to imagine the whole universe is interested in his meanest concern. If he hath got cleanly over a kennel, some angel unseen descended on purpose to help him by the hand; if he hath knocked his head against a post, it was the devil, for his sins, let loose from hell on purpose to buffet him. Who, that sees a little paltry mortal droning, and dreaming, and drivelling to a multitude, can think it agreeable to common good sense, that either heaven or hell should be put to the trouble of influence or inspection upon what he is about? Therefore I am resolved immediately to weed this error out of mankind, by making it clear, that this mystery of vending spiritual gifts is nothing but a *trade*, acquired by as much instruction, and mastered by equal practice and application, as others are. This will best appear by describing and deducing the whole process of the operation, as variously as it hath fallen under my knowledge or experience.

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Here the whole scheme of spiritual mechanism was deduced and explained, with an appearance of great reading and observation; but it was thought neither safe nor convenient to print it.

Here

OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT. 19

Here it may not be amiss to add a few words upon the laudable practice of wearing *quilted caps*; which is not a matter of mere custom, humour, or fashion, as some would pretend, but an institution of great sagacity and use. These, when moistened with sweat, stop all perspiration; and, by reverberating the heat, prevent the spirit from evaporating any way but at the mouth; even as a skilful house-wife, that covers her still with a wet clout for the same reason, and finds the same effect. For it is the opinion of choice *virtuosi*, that the brain is only a crowd of little animals, but with teeth and claws extremely sharp, and therefore cling together in the contexture we behold, like the picture of *Hobbes's Leviathan*, or like bees in perpendicular swarm upon a tree, or like a carrion corrupted into vermin, still preserving the shape and figure of the mother animal: that all invention is formed by the morsure of two or more of these animals, upon certain capillary nerves, which proceed from thence; whereof three branches spread into the tongue, and two into the right hand. They hold also, that these animals are of a constitution extremely cold; that their food is the air we attract, their excrement phlegm; and that what we vulgarly call rheums, and colds, and distillations, is nothing else but an epidemical looseness, to which that little commonwealth is very subject, from the climate it lies under: farther, that nothing less than a violent heat can disintangle these creatures

tures from their hamated station of life, or give them vigour and humour to imprint the marks of their little teeth: that if the morsure be hexagonal, it produces poetry; the circular gives eloquence; if the bite hath been conical, the person, whose nerve is so affected, shall be disposed to write upon politics; and so of the rest.

I shall now discourse briefly, by what kind of practices the voice is best governed, towards the composition and improvement of the *spirit*; for without a competent skill in tuning and toning each word, and syllable, and letter, to their due cadence, the whole operation is incomplete, misses entirely of its effect on the hearers, and puts the workman himself to continual pains for new supplies without success. For it is to be understood, that, in the language of the spirit, *cant* and *droning* supply the place of *sense* and *reason*, in the language of men; because, in spiritual harangues, the disposition of the words according to the art of grammar, hath not the least use, but the skill and influence wholly lie in the choice and cadence of the syllables; even as a discreet *composer*, who, in setting a song, changes the words and order so often, that he is forced to make it *nonsense*, before he can make it *music*. For this reason it hath been held by some, that the art of canting is ever in greatest perfection, when managed by *ignorance*; which is thought to be enigmatically meant by Plutarch, when he tell us, that the best musical instruments

struments were made from the bones of an *ass*. And the profounder critics upon that passage are of opinion, the word, in its genuine signification, means no other than a *jaw-bone*; though some rather think it to have been the *os sacrum*. But in so nice a case I shall not take upon me to decide; the curious are at liberty to *pick* from it whatever they please.

The first ingredient towards the art of canting, is a competent share of *inward light*; that is to say, a large memory, plentifully fraught with theological polysyllables, and mysterious texts from holy writ, applied and digested by those methods and mechanical operations already related; the bearers of this *light* resembling *lanterns*, compact of leaves from old Geneva Bibles: which invention, Sir Humphrey Edwin, during his mayoralty, of happy memory, highly approved and advanced; affirming the scripture to be now fulfilled, where it says, *Thy word is a lantern to my feet, and a light to my paths*.

Now, the art of *canting* consists in skilfully adapting the voice to whatever words the spirit delivers, that each may strike the ears of the audience with its most significant cadence. The force or energy of this eloquence is not to be found, as among ancient orators, in the disposition of words to a sentence, or the turning of long periods; but, agreeable to the modern refinements in music, is taken up wholly in dwelling and dilating upon syllables and letters.

Thus,

Thus, it is frequent for a single *vowel* to draw sighs from a multitude; and for a whole assembly of saints, to sob to the music of one solitary *liquid*. But these are trifles, when even sounds inarticulate are observed to produce as forcible effects. A master-workman shall *blow his nose so powerfully*, as to pierce the hearts of his people, who are disposed to receive the *excrements* of his brain, with the same reverence as the *issue* of it. Hawking, spitting, and belching, the defects of other mens rhetoric, are the flowers, and figures, and ornaments of his. For, the *spirit* being the same in all, it is of no import through what vehicle it is conveyed.

It is a point of too much difficulty, to draw the principles of this famous art within the compass of certain adequate rules. However, perhaps I may one day oblige the world with my critical essay upon the art of *canting, philosophically, physically, and musically considered*.

But, among all improvements of the *spirit* wherein the voice hath borne a part, there is none to be compared with that of *conveying the sound through the nose*, which, under the denomination of *snuffling*,* hath passed with so great applause in the world. The originals of this institution are very dark; but having been initiated into the mystery of it, and leave being given
me

* The *snuffling* of men, who have lost their noses by lewd courses, is said to have given rise to that tone, which our Dissenters did too much affect. *W. Watton.*

me to publish it to the world, I shall deliver as direct a relation as I can.

This art, like many other famous inventions, owed its birth, or at least improvement and perfection, to an effect of chance; but was established upon solid reasons, and hath flourished in this island ever since, with great lustre. All agree, that it first appeared upon the decay and discouragement of *bagpipes*; which, having long suffered under the mortal hatred of the *brethren*, tottered for a time, and at last fell with *monarchy*. The story is thus related.

As yet, *snuffling* was not; when the following adventure happened to a *Banbury saint*. Upon a certain day, while he was far engaged among the tabernacles of the *wicked*, he felt the outward man put into odd commotions, and strangely pricked forward by the inward: An effect very usual among the modern inspired. For some think, that the *spirit* is apt to feed on the *flesh*, like hungry wines upon raw beef. Others rather believe, there is a perpetual game at *leap-frog* between both; and sometimes the *flesh* is uppermost, and sometimes the *spirit*: adding, that the former, while it is in the state of a *rider*, wears huge Rippon spurs, and, when it comes to the turn of being *bearer*, is wonderfully headstrong and hard-mouthed. However it came about, the *saint* felt his *vessel* full extended in every part, (a very natural effect of strong *inspiration*;) and the place and time falling out so unluckily,

luckily, that he could not have the convenience of evacuating upwards, by repetition, prayer, or lecture, he was forced to open an inferior vent. In short, he wrestled with the flesh so long, that he at length subdued it, coming off with honourable wounds all *before*. The surgeon had now cured the parts primarily affected; but the disease, driven from its post, flew up into his head: and as a skilful general, valiantly attacked in his trenches, and beaten from the field, by flying marches withdraws to the capital city, breaking down the bridges to prevent pursuit; so the disease, repelled from its first station, fled before the *rod* of Hermes, to the upper region, there fortifying itself; but finding the foe making attacks at the *nose*, broke down the *bridge*, and retired to the head-quarters. Now, the naturalists observe, that there is in human noses an *idiosyncrasy*, by virtue of which, the more the passage is obstructed, the more our speech delights to go through, as the music of a flagellet is made by the *stops*. By this method, the twang of the nose becomes perfectly to resemble the *snuffle* of a bagpipe, and is found to be equally attractive of British ears; whereof the saint had sudden experience, by practising his new faculty with wonderful success in the operation of the *spirit*: for, in a short time, no doctrine passed for sound and orthodox, unless it were delivered through the nose. Straight, every pastor copied after this original; and those who

who could not otherwise arrive to a perfection, spirited by a noble zeal, made use of the same experiment to acquire it. So that, I think, it may be truly affirmed, the *saints* owe their empire to the *snuffing* of one *animal*, as Darius † did his to the *neighing* of another; and both stratagems were performed by the same art; for we read, how the *Persian beast* acquired his faculty by *covering a mare* the day before.

I should now have done, if I were not convinced, that whatever I have yet advanced upon this subject, is liable to great exception. For, allowing all I have said to be true, it may still be justly objected, That there is, in the commonwealth of *artificial enthusiasm*, some real foundation for art to work upon in the temper and complexion of individuals, which other mortals seem to want. Observe but the gesture, the motion, and the countenance of some choice professors, though in their most familiar actions, you will find them of a different race from the rest of human creatures. Remark your commonest pretender to a light *within*, how dark, and dirty, and gloomy he is *without*: as lanterns, which, the more light they bear in their bodies, cast out so much the more soot, and smoke, and fuliginous matter to adhere to the sides. Listen but to their ordinary talk, and look on the mouth that delivers it: you will imagine you are hearing some ancient oracle, and your understanding

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will

† Herodot.

will be *equally* informed. Upon these, and the like reasons, certain objectors pretend to put it beyond all doubt, that there must be a sort of preternatural *spirit* possessing the heads of the modern faints; and some will have it to be the *heat* of zeal, working upon the *dregs* of ignorance, as other *spirits* are produced from *lees* by the force of fire. Some again think, that when our earthly tabernacles are disordered and desolate, shaken and out of repair, the spirit delights to dwell within them; as houses are said to be haunted, when they are forsaken and gone to decay.

To set this matter in as fair a light as possible, I shall here very briefly deduce the history of *Fanaticism* from the most early ages to the present. And if we are able to fix upon any one material or fundamental point, wherein the chief professors have universally agreed, I think we may reasonably lay hold on that, and assign it for the great seed or principle of the *spirit*.

The most early traces we meet with of *Fanatics* in ancient story, are among the *Ægyptians*, who instituted those rites known in Greece by the names of *Orgia*, *Panegyres*, and *Dionysia*; whether introduced there by Orpheus or Melampus, we shall not dispute at present, nor, in all likelihood, at any time for the future. The feasts were celebrated to the honour of *Osiris*, whom the Grecians called *Dionysius*, and is the
same

same with *Bacchus* ; * which has betrayed some superficial readers to imagine, that the whole business was nothing more than a set of roaring, scouring companions, over-charged with wine. But this is a scandalous mistake, foisted on the world by a sort of modern authors, who have too *literal* an understanding ; and, because antiquity is to be traced *backwards*, do therefore, like Jews, begin their books at the wrong end, as if learning were a sort of *conjuring*. These are the men who pretend to understand a book by scouting through the *index* ; as if a traveller should go about to describe a *palace*, when he had seen nothing but the *privy* ; or like certain fortune-tellers in Northern America, who have a way of reading a man's destiny by peeping into his *breech*. For, at the time of instituting these mysteries, † there was not one vine in all *Ægypt*, the natives drinking nothing but *ale* ; which liquor seems to have been far more ancient than wine, and has the honour of owing its invention and progress not only to the *Ægyptian* *Osiris* ‡ but to the *Grecian* *Bacchus* ; who, in their famous expedition, carried the receipt of it along with them, and gave it to the nations they visited or subdued. Besides, *Bacchus* himself was very seldom or never drunk : for it is recorded of him, that he was the first inventor of the *mitre* ; || which he wore continually on his head, (as the

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whole

* Diod. Sic. l. i. Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

† Herod. l. 2. ‡ Diod. Sic. l. i. &c. 3. || Id. l. 4.

whole company of Bacchanals did,) to prevent vapours and the *headach* after hard drinking. And for this reason, say some, the *scarlet whore*, when she makes the kings of the earth drunk with her cup of abomination, is always sober herself, though she never balks the glass in her turn, being, it seems, kept upon her legs by the virtue of her *triple mitre*. Now, these feasts were instituted in imitation of the famous expedition Osiris made through the world, and of the company that attended him, whereof the Bacchanalian ceremonies* were so many types and symbols. From which account it is manifest, that the Fanatic rites of these Bacchanals cannot be imputed to intoxications by wine, but must needs have had a deeper foundation. What this was, we may gather large hints from certain circumstances in the course of their mysteries. For, in the first place, there was in their processions, an entire *mixture and confusion of sexes*: they affected to ramble about hills and deserts; their garlands were of *ivy* and *vine*, emblems of cleaving and clinging; or of *fir*, the parent of *turpentine*. It is added, that they imitated *satyrs*, were attended by *goats*, and rode upon *asses*, all companions of great skill and practice in affairs of gallantry. They bore, for their ensigns, certain curious figures, perched upon long poles, made into the shape and size of the *virga genitalis*, with its *appurtenances*; which were so many shadows

* See the particulars in Diod. Sic. l. i. & 3.

shadows and emblems of the whole mystery, as well as trophies set up by the female conquerors. Lastly, in a certain town of Attica, the whole solemnity, stripped of all its types,* was performed *in puris naturalibus*; the votaries not flying in covies, but sorted into couples. The same may be farther conjectured from the death of Orpheus, one of the institutors of these mysteries; who was torn in pieces by women, because he refused to *communicate his orgies*† to them; which others explained, by telling us, he had *castrated* himself upon grief for the loss of his wife.

Omitting many others of less note, the next *Fanatics* we meet with of any eminence, were the numerous sects of *heretics*, appearing in the five first centuries of the *Christian era*, from Simon Magus and his followers, to those of Eutyches. I have collected their systems from infinite reading; and comparing them with those of their successors in the several ages since, I find there are certain bounds set even to the irregularity of human thought, and those a great deal narrower than is commonly apprehended. For as they all frequently interfere, even in their wildest ravings; so there is one fundamental point, wherein they are sure to meet, as lines in a centre, and that is, the *community of women*. Great were their solitudes in this matter; and

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they

* Dionysia Brauronia.

† Vid. Photium in excerptis à Conone.

they never failed of certain articles in their schemes of worship, on purpose to establish it.

The last *Fanatics* of note, were those which started up in Germany, a little after the *reformation* of Luther; springing, as *mushrooms* do at the *end of a harvest*. Such were John of Leyden, David George, Adam Neuster, and many others; whose visions and revelations always terminated in *leading about half a dozen sisters apiece*, and making that practice a fundamental part of their system. For, human life is a continual navigation; and if we expect our *vessels* to pass with safety, through the waves and tempests of this fluctuating world, it is necessary to make a good provision of the *flesh*, as seamen lay in store of *beef* for a long voyage.

Now, from this brief survey of some principal sects among the *Fanatics* in all ages, (having omitted the *Mahometans*, and others, who might also help to confirm the argument I am about;) to which I might add several among ourselves, such as the *family of love*, *sweet singers of Israel*, and the like; and, from reflecting upon that fundamental point in their doctrines, about *women*, wherein they have so unanimously agreed; I am apt to imagine, that the seed or principle, which has ever put men upon *visions* in things *invisible*, is of a corporeal nature. For, the profounder chemists inform us, that the strongest *spirits* may be extracted from *human flesh*. Besides, the spinal marrow, being nothing else but
a con-

a continuation of the brain, must needs create a very free communication between the superior faculties and those below: and thus, the *thorn in the flesh* serves for a *spur* to the *spirit*. I think it is agreed among physicians, that nothing affects the head so much, as a tentiginous humour, repelled and elated to the upper region, found, by daily practice, to run frequently up into madness. A very eminent member of the faculty assured me, that when the Quakers first appeared, he seldom was without some female patients among them, for the *furor*——Persons of a visionary devotion, either men or women, are, in their complexion, of all others, the most amorous. For *zeal* is frequently kindled from the same spark with other fires; and, from inflaming brotherly love, will proceed to raise that of a gallant. If we inspect into the usual process of modern courtship, we shall find it to consist in a devout turn of the eyes, called *ogling*; an artificial form of canting and whining, by rote, every interval, for want of other matter, made up with a shrug, or a hum; a sigh or a groan; the style compact of insignificant words, incoherences, and repetition. These I take to be the most accomplished rules of address to a mistress; and where are these performed with more dexterity, than by the *saints*? Nay, to bring this argument yet closer, I have been informed by certain sanguine brethren of the first class, that, in the height and
orgasmus

orgasmus of their spiritual exercise, it has been frequent with them * * * * *; immediately after which, they found the *spirit* to relax and flag of a sudden with the nerves, and they were forced to hasten to a conclusion. This may be farther strengthened, by observing with wonder, how unaccountably all females are attracted by visionary or enthusiastic preachers, though never so contemptible in their *outward mien*; which is usually supposed to be done upon considerations purely spiritual, without any carnal regards at all. But, I have reason to think, the sex hath certain characteristics, by which they form a truer judgment of human abilities and performings, than we ourselves can possibly do of each other. Let that be as it will, thus much is certain, that, however spiritual intrigues begin, they generally conclude like all others; they may branch upwards towards heaven, but the root is in the earth. Too intense a contemplation is not the business of flesh and blood; it must, by the necessary course of things, in a little time, let go its hold, and fall into *matter*. Lovers, for the sake of celestial converse, are but another sort of Platonics, who pretend to see stars and heaven in ladies eyes, and to look or think no lower; but the same *pit* is provided for both. And they seem a perfect moral to the story of that philosopher, who, while his thoughts and eyes were fixed upon the *constellations*, found himself seduced by his *lower parts* into a *ditch*.

I had

OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT. 33

I had somewhat more to say upon this part of the subject; but the post is just going, which forces me in great haste to conclude,

*Pray burn this
letter as soon
as it comes to
your hands.*

SIR,

Yours, &c.

AN

A N A R G U M E N T

TO PROVE,

That the ABOLISHING of CHRISTIANITY in ENGLAND, may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce those many good effects proposed thereby*.

Written in the year 1708.

I Am very sensible, what a weakness and presumption it is, to reason against the general humour and disposition of the world. I remember

* *The argument against abolishing Christianity*, is carried on with the highest wit and humour. Graver divines threaten their readers with future punishments: Swift artfully exhibits a picture of present shame. He judged rightly, in imagining, that a small treatise, written with a spirit of mirth and freedom, must be more efficacious than long sermons, or laborious lessons of morality. He endeavours to laugh us into religion; well knowing, that we are often laughed out of it. *Orrery*.

The argument, &c. is the most delicate, refined, complete, unvaried piece of irony, from the beginning to the end, that ever was written since the creation of the world. And, without dispute, if in the works of man there can be supposed any such thing as real perfection, we must allow it to consist in those amazing productions of wit and humour, which, in all probability, can never be excelled by any effort of genius, and beyond which, it is impossible to frame any critical or distinct idea of the human faculties.—With what egregious contempt and ridicule doth he, in this piece, expose the absurdity of those wretches, who are the patrons and abettors of vice and irreligion? *Swift*.

ber it was with great justice, and a due regard to the freedom, both of the public and the press, forbidden, upon severe penalties, to write, or discourse, or lay wagers against the *union*, even before it was confirmed by parliament; because that was looked upon as a design to oppose the current of the people; which, besides the folly of it, is a manifest breach of the fundamental law, that makes this majority of opinion the voice of God. In like manner, and for the very same reasons, it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent to argue against the abolishing of Christianity, at a juncture when all parties appear so unanimously determined upon the point; as we cannot but allow, from their actions, their discourses, and their writings. However, I know not how, whether from the affectation of singularity, or the perverseness of human nature; but so it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this opinion. Nay, though I were sure an order were issued for my immediate prosecution by the Attorney-General, I should still confess, that, in the present posture of our affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet see the absolute necessity of extirpating the Christian religion from among us.

This perhaps may appear too great a paradox, even for our wise and paradoxical age to endure: therefore I shall handle it with all tenderness, and with the utmost deference to the great and profound majority, which is of another sentiment.

And

And yet the curious may please to observe, how much the genius of a nation is liable to alter in half an age. I have heard it affirmed for certain, by some very old people, that the contrary opinion was, even in their memories, as much in vogue as the other is now; and that a project for the abolishing of Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be at this time to write or discourse in its defence.

Therefore I freely own, that all appearances are against me. The system of the gospel, after the fate of other systems, is generally antiquated and exploded; and the mass or body of the common people, among whom it seems to have had its latest credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their betters; opinions, like fashions, always descending from those of quality to the middle sort, and thence to the vulgar, where at length they are dropped, and vanish.

But here I would not be mistaken; and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a distinction from the writers on the other side, when they make a difference between nominal and real *Trinitarians*. I hope no reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the defence of real Christianity, such as used in primitive times (if we may believe the authors of those ages) to have an influence upon mens belief and actions. To offer at the restoring of that, would indeed be a wild project: it would be to dig up foundations; to destroy at
one

one blow, all the wit, and half the learning of the kingdom; to break the entire frame and constitution of things; to ruin trade, extinguish arts and sciences, with the professors of them; in short, to turn our courts, exchanges, and shops into deserts; and would be full as absurd as the proposal of Horace, where he advises the Romans, all in a body, to leave their city, and to seek a new seat in some remote part of the world, by way of cure for the corruption of their manners.

Therefore I think this caution was in itself altogether unnecessary, (which I have inserted only to prevent all possibility of cavilling;) since every candid reader will easily understand my discourse to be intended only in defence of nominal Christianity; the other having been for some time wholly laid aside, by general consent, as utterly inconsistent with our present schemes of wealth and power.

But why we should therefore cast off the name and title of Christians, although the general opinion and resolution be so violent for it, I confess I cannot (with submission) apprehend, nor is the consequence necessary. However, since the undertakers propose such wonderful advantages to the nation by this project, and advance many plausible objections against the system of Christianity; I shall briefly consider the strength of both, fairly allow them their greatest weight, and offer such answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to shew, what incon-

veniences may possibly happen by such an innovation, in the present posture of our affairs.

First, One great advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, is, That it would very much enlarge and establish liberty of conscience, that great bulwark of our nation, and of the Protestant religion; which is still too much limited by priestcraft, notwithstanding all the good intentions of the legislature; as we have lately found by a severe instance. For it is confidently reported, that two young gentlemen, of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment, who, upon a thorough examination of causes and effects, and by the mere force of natural abilities, without the least tincture of learning, having made a discovery, that there was no God, and generously communicating their thoughts for the good of the public, were some time ago, by an unparalleled severity, and upon I know not what obsolete law, broke *only for blasphemy*; and, as it hath been wisely observed, if persecution once begins, no man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

In answer to all which, with deference to wiser judgments, I think this rather shews the necessity of a nominal religion among us. Great wits love to be free with the highest objects; and, if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will *speakevil of dignities*, abuse the government, and reflect upon the ministry; which, I am sure, few will deny to be of much
more

more pernicious consequence; according to the saying of Tiberius, *Deorum offensa diis cura*. As to the particular fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one instance; perhaps another cannot be produced: yet (to the comfort of all those who may be apprehensive of prosecution) blasphemy, we know, is freely spoken a million of times in every coffee-house and tavern, or wherever else *good company* meet. It must be allowed, indeed, that to break an English free-born officer, only for blasphemy, was, to speak the gentlest of such an action, a very high strain of absolute power. Little can be said in excuse for the General. Perhaps he was afraid it might give offence to the allies, among whom, for aught we know, it may be the custom of the country to believe a God. But if he argued, as some have done, upon a mistaken principle, that an officer who is guilty of speaking blasphemy, may, some time or other, proceed so far as to raise a mutiny; the consequence is by no means to be admitted: for surely the commander of an English army is like to be but ill obeyed, whose soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

It is further objected against the gospel-system, That it obliges men to the belief of things too difficult for free-thinkers, and such as have shaken off the prejudices that usually cling to a confined education. To which I answer, That men should be cautious how they raise objections,

which reflect upon the wisdom of the nation. Is not every body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaseth, and to publish his belief to the world whenever he thinks fit, especially if it serves to strengthen the party which is in the right? Would any indifferent foreigner, who should read the trumpery lately written by Aſgil, Tindal, Toland, Coward *, and forty more, imagine the gospel to be our rule of faith, and confirmed by parliaments? Does any man either believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he believes one syllable of the matter? And is any man worse received upon that score; or does he find his want of *nominal* faith a disadvantage to him, in the pursuit of any civil or military employment? What if there be an old dormant statute or two against him? Are they not now obsolete, to a degree, that Empson and Dudley themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in execution?

It is likewise urged, That there are, by computation, in this kingdom, above ten thousand parsons; whose revenues, added to those of my Lords the bishops, would suffice to maintain, at least, two hundred young gentlemen of wit and pleasure,

* Aſgil wrote an argument to prove, that man may be translated from hence into eternal life, without passing through death.

Toland published some deistical books.

Tindal's writings were blasphemous and atheistical.

Coward asserted the mortality of the soul, and alledged the seat of it to be in the blood. *Hawkeſ.*

pleasure, and free-thinking; enemies to priestcraft, narrow principles, pedantry, and prejudices; who might be an ornament to the court and town: and then again, so great a number of able [bodied] divines might be a recruit to our fleet and armies. This, indeed, appears to be a consideration of some weight. But then, on the other side, several things deserve to be considered likewise: as, first, whether it may not be thought necessary, that in certain tracts of country, like what we call parishes, there should be *one* man, at least, of abilities to read and write. Then it seems a wrong computation, that the revenues of the church throughout this island, would be large enough to maintain two hundred young gentlemen, or even half that number after the present refined way of living; that is, to allow each of them such a rent, as, in the modern form of speech, would make them easy. But still there is in this project a greater mischief behind; and we ought to beware of the woman's folly, who killed the hen that every morning laid her a golden egg. For, pray, what will become of the race of men in the next age, if we had nothing to trust to, beside the scrophulous, consumptive productions furnished by our men of wit and pleasure; when, having squandered away their vigour, health, and estates, they are forced, by some disagreeable marriage, to piece up their broken fortunes, and entail rottenness and politeness on their posterity? Now, here are ten thousand persons reduced, by the

wife regulations of Henry VIII. to the necessity of a low diet, and moderate exercise, who are the only great restorers of our breed; without which, the nation would, in an age or two, become one great hospital.

Another advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity, is, the clear gain of one day in seven, which is now entirely lost, and consequently the kingdom one seventh less considerable in trade, business, and pleasure; besides the loss to the public of so many stately structures now in the hands of the clergy; which might be converted into play-houses, market-houses, exchanges, common dormitories, and other public edifices.

I hope I shall be forgiven a hard word, if I call this a perfect cavil. I readily own there hath been an old custom, time out of mind, for people to assemble in the churches every Sunday; and that shops are still frequently shut, in order, as it is conceived, to preserve the memory of that ancient practice. But how this can prove a hindrance to business or pleasure, is hard to imagine. What if the men of pleasure are forced, one day in the week, to game at home, instead of the *chocolate-house*? Are not the *taverns* and *coffee-houses* open? Can there be a more convenient season for taking a dose of physic? Are fewer claps got upon Sundays than other days? Is not that the chief day for traders to sum up the accounts of the week; and for lawyers to prepare
their

their briefs? But I would fain know, how it can be pretended, that the churches are misapplied? Where are more appointments and rendezvouses of gallantry? where more care to appear in the foremost box, with greater advantage of dress? where more meetings for business? where more bargains driven of all sorts? and where so many conveniencies or incitements to sleep?

There is one advantage, greater than any of the foregoing, proposed by the abolishing of Christianity; That it will utterly extinguish parties among us, by removing those factious distinctions of *High and Low Church*, of *Whig and Tory*, *Presbyterian and Church of England*; which are now so many grievous clogs upon public proceedings, and are apt to dispose men to prefer the gratifying themselves, or depressing their adversaries, before the most important interest of the state.

I confess, if it were certain, that so great an advantage would redound to the nation by this expedient, I would submit, and be silent. But will any man say, that if the words *whoring*, *drinking*, *cheating*, *lying*, *stealing*, were, by act of parliament, ejected out of the English tongue and dictionaries, we should all awake next morning chaste and temperate, honest and just, and lovers of truth? Is this a fair consequence? Or, if the physicians would forbid us to pronounce the words, *pox*, *gout*, *rheumatism*, and *stone*, would that expedient serve, like so many *talismans*, to destroy the diseases themselves? Are party and
faction

faction rooted in mens hearts no deeper than phrases borrowed from religion, or founded upon no firmer principles? And is our language so poor, that we cannot find other terms to express them? Are envy, pride, avarice, and ambition, such ill nomenclators, that they cannot furnish appellations for their owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamalukes*, *Mandarines* and *Patshaws*, or any other words formed at pleasure, serve to distinguish those who are in the ministry, from others who would be in it if they could? What, for instance, is easier than to vary the form of speech? and, instead of the word *church*, make it a question in politics, whether the *monument* be in danger? Because religion was nearest at hand to furnish a few convenient phrases, is our invention so barren, we can find no other? Suppose, for argument's sake, that the *Tories* favoured *Margarita*, the *Whigs* Mrs. Tofts, and the *Trimmers* *Valentini*; * would not *Margaritans*, *Toftians*, and *Valentinians*, be very tolerable marks of distinction? The *Prasini* and *Veniti*, two most virulent factions in Italy, began (if I remember right) by a distinction of colours in ribbands: and we might contend, with as good a grace, about the dignity of the *blue* and the *green*; which would serve as properly to divide the court, the parliament, and the kingdom between them, as any terms of art whatsoever borrowed from religion.

* Italian fingers then in vogue. *Margarita* was afterwards married to Dr. Pepusche.

gion. And therefore I think there is little force in this objection against Christianity, or prospect of so great an advantage as is proposed in the abolishing of it.

It is again objected, as a very absurd ridiculous custom, That a set of men should be suffered, much less employed, and hired, to bawl one day in seven, against the lawfulness of those methods most in use towards the pursuit of greatness, riches, and pleasure, which are the constant practice of all men alive on the other six. But this objection is, I think, a little unworthy so refined an age as ours. Let us argue this matter calmly. I appeal to the breast of any polite free-thinker, whether, in the pursuit of gratifying a predominant passion, he hath not always felt a wonderful incitement, by reflecting it was a thing forbidden: and therefore we see, in order to cultivate this taste, the wisdom of the nation hath taken special care, that the ladies should be furnished with prohibited silks, and the men with prohibited wine. And, indeed, it were to be wished, that some other prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the pleasures of the town, which, for want of such expedients, begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel inroads from the spleen.

It is likewise proposed, as a great advantage to the public, That if we once discard the system of the gospel, all religion will, of course, be banished

ed for ever; and consequently, along with it, those grievous prejudices of education; which, under the names of *virtue*, *conscience*, *honour*, *justice*, and the like, are so apt to disturb the peace of human minds; and the notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated by right reason or free-thinking, sometimes during the whole course of our lives.

Here, first, I observe how difficult it is to get rid of a phrase, which the world is once grown fond of, though the occasion that first produced it be entirely taken away. For several years past, if a man had but an ill-favoured nose, the deep-thinkers of the age would, some way or other, contrive to impute the cause to the prejudice of his education. From this fountain are said to be derived all our foolish notions of justice, piety, love of our country; all our opinions of God, or a future state, heaven, hell, and the like: and there might formerly, perhaps, have been some pretence for this charge. But so effectual care hath been since taken to remove those prejudices, by an entire change in the methods of education, that (with honour I mention it to our polite innovators) the young gentlemen who are now on the scene, seem to have not the least tincture left of those infusions, or string of those weeds: and, by consequence, the reason for abolishing nominal Christianity upon that pretext, is wholly ceased.

For

For the rest, it may perhaps admit a controversy, whether the banishing all notions of religion whatsoever would be convenient for the vulgar. Not that I am, in the least, of opinion with those who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians, to keep the lower part of the world in awe, by the fear of invisible powers; unless mankind were then very different from what it is now: for I look upon the mass or body of our people here in England to be as free-thinkers, that is to say, as stanch unbelievers, as any of the highest rank. But I conceive some scattered notions about a superior power, to be of singular use for the common people, as furnishing excellent materials to keep children quiet, when they grow peevish, and providing topics of amusement in a tedious winter night.

Lastly, It is proposed, as a singular advantage, That the abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *Protestants*, by enlarging the terms of communion, so as to take in all sorts of *dissenters*; who are now shut out of the pale upon account of a few ceremonies, which all sides confess to be things indifferent: that this alone will effectually answer the great ends of a scheme for comprehension, by opening a large noble gate, at which all bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *dissenters*, and dodging about this or the other ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time,

time, and that not without stooping, and fideling, and squeezing his body.

To all this I answer, That there is one darling inclination of mankind, which usually affects to be a retainer to religion, though she be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend; I mean the spirit of opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for instance, examine wherein the opposition of sectaries among us consists. We shall find Christianity to have no share in it at all. Does the gospel any where prescribe a starched, squeezed, countenance, a stiff formal gait, a singularity of manners and habit, or any affected modes of speech, different from the reasonable part of mankind? Yet, if Christianity do not lend its name to stand in the gap, and to employ or divert these humours, they must, of necessity, be spent in contraventions to the laws of the land, and disturbance of the public peace. There is a portion of enthusiasm assigned to every nation, which, if it hath not proper objects to work on, will burst out, and set all in a flame. If the quiet of a state can be bought by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchase no wise man would refuse. Let the mastiffs amuse themselves about a sheep's skin stuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the flock. The institution of convents abroad, seems, in one point, a strain of great wisdom; there being few irregularities in human passions,
that

that may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those orders; which are so many retreats for the speculative, the melancholy, the proud, the silent, the politic, and the morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the noxious particles: for each of whom, we, in this island, are forced to provide several sects of religion, to keep them quiet. And whenever Christianity shall be abolished, the legislature must find some other expedient to employ and entertain them. For, what imports it, how large a gate you open, if there will be always left a number, who place a pride and a merit in refusing to enter?

Having thus considered the most important objections against Christianity, and the chief advantages proposed by the abolishing thereof; I shall now, with equal deference and submission to wiser judgments, as before, proceed to mention a few inconveniencies that may happen, if the gospel should be repealed; which, perhaps, the projectors may not have sufficiently considered.

And, first, I am very sensible how much the gentlemen of wit and pleasure are apt to murmur, and be shocked at the sight of so many daggled-tail parsons, who happen to fall in their way, and offend their eyes. But, at the same time, these wise reformers do not consider, what an advantage and felicity it is, for great wits to be always provided with objects of scorn and contempt, in order to exercise and improve their talents, and divert their spleen from falling on each other, or

on themselves; especially when all this may be done without the least imaginable danger to their persons.

And, to urge another argument of a parallel nature: If Christianity were once abolished, how could the free-thinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another subject so calculated, in all points, whereon to display their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of, from those, whose genius, by continual practice, hath been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives against religion, and would therefore never be able to shine, or distinguish themselves upon any other subject? We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us; and, would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only topic we have left? Who would ever have suspected Apgil for a wit, or Toland for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? What other subject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furnished him with readers? It is the wise choice of the subject, that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For, had an hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion.

Nor do I think it wholly groundless, or my fears altogether imaginary, that the abolishing of
Christianity

Christianity may perhaps bring the church in danger, or at least put the senate to the trouble of another securing vote. I desire I may not be mistaken. I am far from presuming to affirm, or think, that the church is in danger at present, or as things now stand; but we know not how soon it may be so, when the Christian religion is repealed. As plausible as this project seems, there may be a dangerous design lurking under it. Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Atheists Deists, Socinians, Antitrinitarians*, and other subdivisions of free-thinkers, are persons of little zeal for the present ecclesiastical establishment. Their declared opinion is for repealing the sacramental test; they are very indifferent with regard to ceremonies; nor do they hold the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy. Therefore, this may be intended as one politic step towards altering the constitution of the church established, and setting up *Presbytery* in the stead; which I leave to be further considered by those at the helm.

In the last place, I think nothing can be more plain, than that, by this expedient, we shall run into the evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the abolishment of the *Christian* religion, will be the readiest course we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this opinion, because we know it hath been the constant practice of the *Jesuits*, to send over emissaries, with instructions to personate themselves members of the several prevailing sects a-

mong us. So it is recorded, that they have, at sundry times, appeared in the guise of *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Independents*, and *Quakers*, according as any of these were most in credit: so, since the fashion hath been taken up, of exploding religion, the *Popish* missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the free-thinkers; among whom, Toland, the great oracle of the *Antichristians*, is an Irish priest, the son of an Irish priest; and the most learned and ingenious author of a book called the *rights of the Christian church*, was, in a proper juncture, reconciled to the Romish faith; whose true son, as appears by a hundred passages in this treatise, he still continues. Perhaps I could add some others to the number: but the fact is beyond dispute. And the reasoning they proceed by, is right: for, supposing Christianity to be extinguished, the people will never be at ease till they find out some other method of worship; which will as infallibly produce superstition, as superstition will end in *Popery*.

And therefore, if, notwithstanding all I have said, it still be thought necessary to have a bill brought in for repealing Christianity, I would humbly offer an amendment, that, instead of the word *Christianity*, may be put *religion* in general; which, I conceive, will much better answer all the good ends proposed by the projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in being a God, and his Providence, with all the necessary consequences which curious and inquisitive men will
be

be apt to draw from such premises; we do not strike at the root of the evil, though we should ever so effectually annihilate the present scheme of the gospel. For, of what use is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action; which is the sole end, how remote soever in appearance, of all objections against Christianity? and therefore, the free-thinkers consider it as a sort of edifice, wherein all the parts have such a mutual dependence on each other, that, if you happen to pull out one single nail, the whole fabric must fall to the ground. This was happily expressed by him, who had heard of a text brought for proof of the Trinity, which, in an ancient manuscript, was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the hint, and, by a sudden deduction of a long *forites**, most logically concluded, Why, if it be as you say, I may safely whore and drink on, and defy the parson. From which, and many the like instances, easy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifest, than that the quarrel is not against any particular points of hard digestion in the Christian system, but against religion in general; which, by laying restraints on human nature, is supposed the great enemy to the freedom of thought and action.

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Upon

* A *forites* differs from a syllogism, in that it takes only the minor proposition. An example of this figure may be seen, Vol. VII. in John Bull, part 2. chap. 17. near the end. *Hawkef.*

Upon the whole, if it shall be thought for the benefit of church and state, that Christianity be abolished; I conceive, however, it may be more convenient to defer the execution to a time of peace; and not venture, in this conjuncture, to disoblige our allies; who, as it falls out, are all Christians; and many of them, by the prejudices of their education, so bigotted, as to place a sort of pride in the appellation. If, upon being rejected by them, we are to trust to an alliance with the Turk, we shall find ourselves much deceived; for, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in war with the Persian Emperor, so his people would be more scandalized at our infidelity, than our Christian neighbours. For, the Turks are not only strict observers of religious worship, but, what is worse, believe a God; which is more than is required of us, even while we preserve the name of Christians.

To conclude: Whatever some may think of the great advantages to trade by this favourite scheme, I do very much apprehend, that, in six months time after the act is passed for the extirpation of the gospel, the Bank and East-India stock may fall, at least, one *per cent.* And since that is fifty times more than ever the wisdom of our age thought fit to venture for the *preservation* of Christianity, there is no reason we should be at so great a loss, merely for the sake of *destroying* it.

A PROJECT

A PROJECT for the ADVANCEMENT of
RELIGION, and the REFORMATION of
MANNERS*.

By a PERSON of QUALITY.

Written in the year 1709.

To the Countess of BERKELEY†.

MADAM,

MY intention, in prefixing your Ladyship's name, is not, after the common form, to desire your protection of the following papers; which

* The author appears in earnest throughout this whole treatise; and the dedication, or introduction, is in a strain of serious panegyric, which the Lady, to whom it is addressed, undoubtedly deserved. But, as the pamphlet is of the satirical kind, I am apt to imagine, that the Dean put a violence upon himself, in chusing to appear candidly serious, rather than to smile, under his usual mask of gravity. Methinks, upon these occasions, I perceive him writing in shackles. *Orrery.*

In the *Project*, &c. Dr. Swift appears in the character of a great inspired prophet. *He crieth aloud, he spareth not, he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet*, Isa. lviii. 1. He rebuketh all ranks of men, for their depravities and corruptions, their profaneness, their blasphemy and irreligion. His discourse he addresseth unto his sovereign, and, beyond all contradiction, proveth it to be an important duty incumbent on all princes, to encourage and to enforce morals and religion, by exerting their utmost authority. He then applieth himself to the legislature, conjuring them to forward so noble a design, and to provide remedies against that torrent of iniquity, which, if not vigorously opposed, would certainly increase, and never stop in its career, until it subverted the constitution. And, finally, he declares, in the prophetic style and spirit, that a reformation of manners, and turning unto God, are the best natural, as well as religious means, to bring the war to an happy conclusion. *Swift.*

† This excellent Lady, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, and sister to Edward Earl of Gainsborough. *Hawkes.*

which I take to be a very unreasonable request; since, by being inscribed to your Ladyship, though without your knowledge, and from a concealed hand, you cannot recommend them without some suspicion of partiality. My real design is, I confess, the very same I have often detested in most dedications, that of publishing your praises to the world; not upon the subject of your noble birth, for I know others as noble; or of the greatness of your fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful race, (the images of their parents,) which calls you mother; for even this may perhaps have been equalled in some other age or country. Besides, none of these advantages do derive any accomplishments to the owners, but serve, at best, only to adorn what they really possess. What I intend, is your piety, truth, good sense, and good nature, affability, and charity; wherein I wish your Ladyship had many equals, or any superiors; and I wish I could say, I knew them too; for then your Ladyship might have had a chance to escape this address. In the mean time, I think it highly necessary, for the interest of virtue and religion, that the whole kingdom should be informed in some parts of your character: for instance, That the easiest and politest conversation, joined with the truest piety, may be observed in your Ladyship, in as great perfection as they were ever seen apart in any other person: That, by your prudence and management, under several disadvantages, you have

have preserved the lustre of that most noble family into which you are grafted, and which the unmeasurable profusion of ancestors, for many generations, had too much eclipsed: Then, how happily you perform every office of life, to which Providence hath called you; in the education of those two incomparable daughters, whose conduct is so universally admired; in every duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate wife; in that care which descends to the meanest of your domestics; and, lastly, in that endless bounty to the poor, and discretion where to distribute it. I insist on my opinion, that it is of importance for the public, to know this, and a great deal more of your Ladyship; yet, whoever goes about to inform them, shall, instead of finding credit, perhaps be censured for a flatterer. To avoid so usual a reproach, I declare this to be no dedication, but merely an introduction to a proposal for the advancement of religion and morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, some few lineaments in the character of a Lady, who hath spent all her life in the practice and promotion of both.

AMONG all the schemes offered to the public in this projecting age, I have observed, with some displeasure, that there have never been any for the improvement of religion and morals: which, besides the piety of the design, from the consequence of such a reformation in a future life, would be the best natural means for advancing

cing the public felicity of the state, as well as the present happiness of every individual. For as much as faith and morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident, they might, in a short time, and with no very great trouble, be raised to as high a perfection as numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed the method is so easy and obvious, and some present opportunities so good, that, in order to have this project reduced to practice, there seems to want nothing more than to put those in mind, who, by their honour, duty, and interest, are chiefly concerned.

But because it is idle to propose remedies, before we are assured of the disease, or to be in fear, till we are convinced of the danger; I shall first shew, in general, that the nation is extremely corrupted in religion and morals; and then I will offer a short scheme for the reformation of both.

As to the first, I know it is reckoned but a form of speech, when divines complain of the wickedness of the age. However, I believe, upon a fair comparison with other times and countries, it would be found an undoubted truth.

For, first, to deliver nothing but plain matter of fact, without exaggeration or satire, I suppose it will be granted, that hardly one in an hundred among our people of quality or gentry, appears to act by any principle of religion; that great numbers of them do entirely discard it, and are ready to own their disbelief of all revelation, in ordinary discourse. Nor is the case much better
among

among the vulgar, especially in great towns, where the profaneness and ignorance of handicraftsmen, small traders, servants, and the like, are to a degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then it is observed abroad, that no race of mortals hath so little sense of religion, as the English soldiers. To confirm which, I have been often told by great officers of the army, that, in the whole compass of their acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their profession, who seemed to regard or believe one syllable of the gospel. And the same at least may be affirmed of the fleet. The consequences of all which, upon the actions of men, are equally manifest. They never go about, as in former times, to hide or palliate their vices, but expose them freely to view, like any other common occurrences of life, without the least reproach from the world or themselves. For instance, any man will tell you, he intends to be drunk this evening, or was so last night, with as little ceremony or scruple, as he would tell you the time of the day. He will let you know he is going to a wench, or that he has got a clap, with as much indifferency as he would a piece of public news. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme, without the least passion or provocation. And, though all regard for reputation is not quite laid aside in the other sex, it is however at so low an ebb, that very few among them seem to think virtue and conduct of any necessity for preserving it. If this be not so, how comes it

it to pass, that women of tainted reputations find the same countenance and reception in all public places, with those of the nicest virtue, who pay and receive visits from them, without any manner of scruple? Which proceeding, as it is not very old among us, so I take it to be of most pernicious consequence. It looks like a sort of compounding between virtue and vice; as if a woman were allowed to be vicious, provided she be not a profligate; as if there were a certain point where gallantry ends, and infamy begins; or that an hundred criminal amours were not as pardonable as half a score.

Besides those corruptions already mentioned, it would be endless to enumerate such as arise from the excess of play or gaming; the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths and blasphemies among the men; among the women, the neglect of household affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the indecent passion; and, lastly, the known inlet to all lewdness, when, after an ill run, the *person* must answer the defects of the *purse*: the rule on such occasions holding true in play, as it does in law, *Quod non habet in crumena, luat in corpore.*

But all these are trifles in comparison, if we step into other scenes, and consider the fraud and cozenage of trading men and shopkeepers; that insatiable gulf of injustice and oppression, the *law*; the open traffic of all civil and military employments, (I wish it rested there *,) without the least

* Perhaps the author intended to intimate that it extended to ecclesiastical. *Hawkes.*

least regard to merit or qualifications; the corrupt management of men in office, the many detestable abuses in chusing those who represent the people, with the management of interests and factions among the representatives; to which I must be bold to add, the ignorance of some of the lower clergy, the mean servile temper of others, the pert pragmatistical demeanour of several young stagers in divinity, upon their first producing themselves into the world, with many other circumstances needless, or rather invidious to mention; which, falling in with the corruptions already related, have, however unjustly, almost rendered the whole order contemptible.

This is a short view of the general depravities among us, without entering into particulars, which would be an endless labour. Now, as universal and deep-rooted as these appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual remedy might not be applied to most of them; neither am I at present upon a wild speculative project, but such a one as may be easily put in execution.

For, while the prerogative of giving all employments continues in the crown, either immediately, or by subordination, it is in the power of the *prince* to make piety and virtue become the fashion of the age, if, at the same time, he would make them necessary qualifications for favour and preferment.

It is clear, from present experience, that the bare example of the best prince will not have any

mighty influence, where the age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better prince on the throne than the present Queen? I do not talk of her talent for government, her love of the people, or any other qualities that are purely regal; but her piety, charity, temperance, conjugal love, and whatever other virtues do best adorn a private life; wherein, without question or flattery, she hath no superior: yet neither will it be satire, or peevish invective, to affirm, that infidelity and vice are not much diminished since her coming to the crown; nor will, in probability, till more effectual remedies be provided.

Thus human nature seems to ly under the disadvantage, that the example alone of a vicious prince, will, in time, corrupt an age, but the example of a good one will not be sufficient to reform it, without further endeavours. Princes must therefore supply this defect, by a vigorous exercise of that authority which the law has left them, by making it every man's interest and honour to cultivate religion and virtue, by rendering vice a disgrace, and the certain ruin to preferment or pretensions: all which they should first attempt in their own courts and families. For instance, might not the Queen's domestics of the middle and lower sort, be obliged, upon penalty of suspension, or loss of their employments, to a constant weekly attendance on the service of the church; to a decent behaviour in it; to receive the sacrament four times a-year; to avoid swearing,

swearing, and irreligious profane discourses, and to the appearance, at least, of temperance and chastity? Might not the care of all this be committed to the strict inspection of proper officers? Might not those of higher rank, and nearer access to her Majesty, receive her own commands to the same purpose, and be countenanced or disfavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay her injunctions on the bishops, and other great men of undoubted piety, to make diligent enquiry, and give her notice, if any person about her should happen to be of libertine principles or morals? Might not all those who enter upon any office in her Majesty's family, be obliged to take an oath parallel with that against simony, which is administered to the clergy? It is not to be doubted, but that, if these, or the like proceedings, were duly observed, morality and religion would soon become fashionable court-virtues, and be taken up as the only methods to get or keep employments there; which alone would have mighty influence upon many of the nobility and principal gentry.

But if the like methods were pursued, as far as possible, with regard to those who are in the great employments of state, it is hard to conceive how general a reformation they might, in time, produce among us. For if piety and virtue were once reckoned qualifications necessary to preferment, every man thus endowed, when put into great stations, would readily imitate the Queen's

example, in the distribution of all offices in his disposal; especially if any apparent transgression, through favour or partiality, would be imputed to him for a misdemeanor, by which he must certainly forfeit his favour and station. And there being such great numbers in employment, scattered through every town and county in this kingdom; if all these were exemplary in the conduct of their lives, things would soon take a new face, and religion receive a mighty encouragement. Nor would the public weal be less advanced; since, of nine offices in ten that are ill executed, the defect is not in capacity or understanding, but in common honesty. I know no employment, for which piety disqualifies any man: and if it did, I doubt the objection would not be very seasonably offered at present; because it is perhaps too just a reflection, that, in the disposal of places, the question, whether a person be *fit* for what he is recommended to? is generally the last that is thought on, or regarded.

I have often imagined, that something parallel to the office of censors anciently in Rome, would be of mighty use among us, and could be easily limited from running into any exorbitances. The Romans understood liberty at least as well as we, were as jealous of it, and, upon every occasion, as bold asserters: yet I do not remember to have read any great complaints of the abuses in that office among them; but many admirable effects of it are left upon record. There are several pernicious

icious vices frequent and notorious among us, that escape or elude the punishment of any law we have yet invented, or have had no law at all against them; such as atheism, drunkenness, fraud, avarice, and several others; which, by this institution, wisely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppose, for instance, that itinerary commissioners were appointed to inspect, every where throughout the kingdom, into the conduct (at least) of men in office, with respect to their morals and religion, as well as their abilities; to receive the complaints and informations that should be offered against them, and make their report here upon oath, to the court or the ministry, who should reward or punish accordingly. I avoid entering into the particulars of this, or any other scheme; which, coming from a private hand, might be liable to many defects, but would soon be digested by the wisdom of the nation. And, surely, six thousand pounds a-year would not be ill laid out among as many commissioners duly qualified, who, in three divisions, should be personally obliged to take their yearly circuits for that purpose.

But this is beside my present design; which was only to shew what degree of reformation is in the power of the Queen, without the interposition of the legislature; and which her Majesty is, without question, obliged in conscience to endeavour by her authority, as much as she doth by her practice.

It will be easily granted, that the example of this great town hath a mighty influence over the whole kingdom; and it is as manifest, that the town is equally influenced by the court, and the ministry, and those who, by their employments or their hopes, depend upon them. Now, if, under so excellent a princess as the present Queen, we would suppose a family strictly regulated, as I have above proposed; a ministry where every single person was of distinguished piety; if we should suppose all great offices of state and law filled after the same manner, and with such as were equally diligent in chusing persons, who, in their several subordinations, would be obliged to follow the examples of their superiors, under the penalty of loss of favour and place; will not every body grant, that the empire of vice and irreligion would be soon destroyed in this great metropolis, and receive a terrible blow through the whole island, which hath so great an intercourse with it, and so much affects to follow its fashions?

For, if religion were once understood to be the necessary step to favour and preferment, can it be imagined that any man would openly offend against it, who had the least regard for his reputation or his fortune? There is no quality so contrary to any nature, which men cannot affect, and put on upon occasion, in order to serve an interest, or gratify a prevailing passion. The proudest man will personate humility, the morosest learn to flatter, the laziest will be sedulous and active, where

where he is in pursuit of what he hath much at heart : how ready, therefore, would most men be to step into the paths of virtue and piety, if they infallibly led to favour and fortune !

If swearing and profaneness, scandalous and avowed lewdness, excessive gaming and intemperance, were a little discountenanced in the army, I cannot readily see what ill consequences could be apprehended. If gentlemen of that profession were at least obliged to some external decorum in their conduct ; or even if a profligate life and character were not a means of advancement, and the appearance of piety a most infallible hindrance, it is impossible the corruptions there, should be so universal and exorbitant. I have been assured by several great officers, that no troops abroad are so ill disciplined as the English ; which cannot well be otherwise, while the common soldiers have perpetually before their eyes, the vitious example of their leaders ; and it is hardly possible for those to commit any crime, whereof these are not infinitely more guilty, and with less temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the gentlemen of the army, that the beastly vice of drinking to excess, hath been lately, from their example, restored among us ; which, for some years before, was almost dropt in England. But, whoever the introducers were, they have succeeded to a miracle ; many of the young nobility and gentry are already become great proficient, and are under

der no manner of concern to hide their talent, but are got beyond all sense of shame, or fear of reproach.

This might soon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young person of quality whatsoever, who was notoriously addicted to that, or any other vice, should be capable of her favour, or even admitted into her presence; with positive command to her ministers, and others in great office, to treat them in the same manner: after which, all men who had any regard for their reputation, or any prospect of preferment, would avoid their commerce. This would quickly make that vice so scandalous, that those who could not subdue, would at least endeavour to disguise it.

By the like methods, a stop might be put to that ruinous practice of deep gaming: and the reason why it prevails so much, is, because a treatment, *directly opposite* in every point, is made use of to promote it; by which means, the laws enacted against this abuse, are wholly eluded.

It cannot be denied, that the want of strict discipline in the universities hath been of pernicious consequence to the youth of this nation, who are there almost left entirely to their own management, especially those among them of better quality and fortune; who, because they are not under a necessity of making learning their maintenance, are easily allowed to pass their time, and take their degrees with little or no improvement.

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Than which, there cannot well be a greater absurdity. For, if no advancement of knowledge can be had from those places, the time there spent, is at best utterly lost; because every ornamental part of education is better taught elsewhere. And as for keeping youths out of harm's way, I doubt, where so many of them are got together, at full liberty of doing what they please, it will not answer the end. But whatever abuses, corruptions, or deviations from statutes have crept into the universities, through neglect or length of time, they might in a great degree be reformed, by strict injunctions from court (upon each particular) to the visitors and heads of houses; besides the peculiar authority the Queen may have in several colleges, whereof her predecessors were the founders. And, among other regulations, it would be very convenient to prevent the excess of drinking, with that scurvy custom among the lads, and parent of the former vice, the taking of tobacco, where it is not absolutely necessary in point of health.

From the universities, the young nobility, and others of great fortunes, are sent for early up to town, for fear of contracting any airs of pedantry by a college education. Many of the younger gentry retire to the inns of court, where they are wholly left to their own discretion. And the consequence of their remissness in education, appears, by observing, that nine in ten of those who rise in the church or the court, the law or the
army,

army, are younger brothers, or new men, whose narrow fortunes have forced them upon industry and application.

As for the inns of court, unless we suppose them to be much degenerated, they must needs be the worst instituted seminaries in any Christian country; but whether they may be corrected without interposition of the legislature, I have not skill enough to determine. However, it is certain, that all wise nations have agreed in the necessity of a strict education; which consisted, among other things, in the observance of moral duties, especially justice, temperance, and chastity, as well as the knowledge of arts, and bodily exercises. But all these, among us, are laughed out of doors.

Without the least intention to offend the clergy, I cannot but think, that, through a mistaken notion and practice, they prevent themselves from doing much service, which otherwise might lie in their power, to religion and virtue: I mean, by affecting so much to converse with each other, and caring so little to mingle with the laity. They have their particular clubs, and particular coffeehouses, where they generally appear in clusters. A single divine dares hardly shew his person among numbers of fine gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into such company, he is silent and suspicious, in continual apprehension that some pert man of pleasure should break an unmannerly jest, and render him ridiculous. Now,
I take

I take this behaviour of the clergy to be just as reasonable, as if the physicians should agree to spend their time in visiting one another, or their several apothecaries, and leave their patients to shift for themselves. In my humble opinion, the clergy's business lies entirely among the laity : neither is there, perhaps, a more effectual way to forward the salvation of mens souls, than for spiritual persons to make themselves as agreeable as they can in the conversations of the world ; for which a learned education gives them great advantage, if they would please to improve and apply it. It so happens, that the *men of pleasure*, who never go to church, nor use themselves to read books of devotion, form their ideas of the clergy from a few poor strollers they often observe in the streets, or sneaking out of some person of quality's house, where they are hired by the lady at ten shillings a-month : while those of better figure and parts, do seldom appear to correct these notions. And, let some reasoners think what they please, it is certain, that men must be brought to esteem and love the clergy, before they can be persuaded to be in love with religion. No man values the best medicine, if administered by a physician whose person he hates or despises. If the clergy were as forward to appear in all companies, as other gentlemen, and would a little study the arts of conversation, to make themselves agreeable, they might be welcome to every party, where there was the least regard

regard for politeness or good sense ; and consequently prevent a thousand vicious or profane discourses, as well as actions : neither would men of understanding complain, that a clergyman was a constraint upon the company, because they could not speak blasphemy, or obscene jests before him. While the people are so jealous of the clergy's ambition, as to abhor all thoughts of the return of ecclesiastic discipline among them, I do not see any other method left for men of that function to take, in order to reform the world, than by using all honest arts to make themselves acceptable to the laity. This, no doubt, is part of that wisdom of the serpent, which the author of Christianity directs ; and is the very method used by St. Paul, who *became all things to all men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

How to remedy these inconveniences, may be a matter of some difficulty ; since the clergy seem to be of an opinion, that this humour of sequestering themselves, is a part of their duty ; nay, as I remember, they have been told so by some of their bishops in their pastoral letters, particularly by *one* * among them of great merit and distinction ; who yet, in his own practice, hath all his life-time taken a course directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an awkward shame, and fear of ill usage from the laity, have not a greater share in this mistaken conduct, than their own inclinations. However, if the outward profession
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* Supposed to be Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury.

of religion and virtue were once in practice and countenance at court, as well as among all men in office, or who have any hopes or dependence for preferment, a good treatment of the clergy would be the necessary consequence of such a reformation; and they would soon be wise enough to see their own duty and interest, in qualifying themselves for lay conversation, when once they were out of fear of being choked by ribaldry or profaneness.

There is one further circumstance upon this occasion, which I know not whether it will be very orthodox to mention. The clergy are the only set of men among us, who constantly wear a distinct habit from others: the consequence of which (not in reason, but in fact) is this, that as long as any scandalous persons appear in that dress, it will continue, in some degree, a general mark of contempt. Whoever happens to see a *scoundrel in a gown*, reeling home at midnight, (a sight neither *frequent* or *miraculous*,) is apt to entertain an ill idea of the whole order, and at the same time to be extremely comforted in his own vices. Some remedy might be put to this, if those straggling gentlemen, who come up to town to *seek their fortunes*, were fairly dismissed to the West Indies; where there is work enough, and where some better provision should be made for them, than I doubt there is at present. Or, what if no person were allowed to wear the habit, who had not some preferment in the church,

or at least some temporal fortune sufficient to keep him out of contempt? though, in my opinion, it were infinitely better, if all the clergy (except the bishops) were permitted to appear like other men of the graver sort, unless at those seasons when they are doing the business of their function.

There is one abuse in this town, which wonderfully contributes to the promotion of vice; that such men are often put into the commission of the peace, whose interest it is, that virtue should be utterly banished from among us; who maintain, or at least enrich themselves by encouraging the grossest immoralities; to whom all the *barrows* of the *ward* pay contribution for shelter and protection from the laws. Thus these worthy magistrates, instead of lessening enormities, are the occasion of just twice as much debauchery as there would be without them. For those infamous women are forced upon doubling their work and industry, to answer double charges, of paying the justice, and supporting themselves; like thieves who escape the gallows, and are let out to steal, in order to discharge the gaoler's fees.

It is not to be questioned, but the Queen and ministry might easily redress this abominable grievance, by enlarging the number of justices of the peace, by endeavouring to chuse men of virtuous principles, by admitting none who have not considerable fortunes; perhaps, by receiving
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into the number, some of the most eminent clergy : then, by forcing all of them, upon severe penalties, to act when there is occasion, and not permitting any who are offered, to refuse the commission. But, in these two last cases, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the legislature.

The reformation of the stage is entirely in the power of the Queen; and, in the consequences it hath upon the minds of young people, doth very well deserve the strictest care. Besides the indecent and profane passages; besides the perpetual turning into ridicule the very function of the priesthood, with other irregularities, in most modern comedies, which have been often objected to them; it is worth observing the distributive justice of the authors, which is constantly applied to the punishment of virtue, and the reward of vice; directly opposite to the rules of their best critics, as well as to the practice of dramatic poets in all other ages and countries. For example, a country 'squire, who is represented with no other vice but that of being a clown, and having the provincial accent upon his tongue, which is neither a fault, nor in his power to remedy, must be condemned to marry a cast wench, or a cracked chambermaid. On the other side, a rake-hell of the town, whose character is set off with no other accomplishment but excessive prodigality, profaneness, intemperance, and lust, is rewarded with a lady of great fortune to repair his own,

which his vices had almost ruined. And as, in a tragedy, the hero is represented to have obtained many victories, in order to raise his character in the minds of the spectators; so the hero of a comedy is represented to have been victorious in all his intrigues, for the same reason. I do not remember, that our English poets ever suffered a criminal amour to succeed upon the stage, till the reign of King Charles II. Ever since that time, the alderman is made a cuckold, the deluded virgin is debauched, and adultery and fornication are supposed to be committed behind the scenes, as part of the action. These, and many more corruptions of the theatre, peculiar to our age and nation, need continue no longer, than while the court is content to connive at, or neglect them. Surely, a pension would not be ill employed on some men of wit, learning, and virtue, who might have power to strike out every offensive or unbecoming passage from plays already written, as well as those that may be offered to the stage for the future. By which, and other wise regulations, the theatre might become a very innocent and useful diversion, instead of being a scandal and reproach to our religion and country.

The proposals I have hitherto made for the advancement of religion and morality, are such as come within the reach of the administration; such as a pious active prince, with a steady resolution, might soon bring to effect. Neither am I aware of any objections to be raised against what

what I have advanced; unless it should be thought, that the making religion a necessary step to interest and favour, might increase hypocrisy among us: and I readily believe it would. But if one in twenty should be brought over to true piety, by this or the like methods, and the other nineteen be only hypocrites, the advantage would still be great. Besides, hypocrisy is much more eligible, than open infidelity and vice: it wears the livery of religion; it acknowledges her authority, and is cautious of giving scandal. Nay, a long continued disguise is too great a constraint upon human nature, especially an English disposition. Men would leave off their vices out of mere weariness, rather than undergo the toil and hazard, and perhaps the expence, of practising them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with religion, as it is with love; which, by much dissembling, at last grows real.

All other projects to this great end, have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws against immorality have not been executed; and proclamations occasionally issued out to enforce them, are wholly unregarded, as things of form. Religious societies, though begun with excellent intention, and by persons of true piety, are said, I know not whether truly or no, to have dwindled into factious clubs, and grown a trade to enrich little knavish informers of the meanest rank, such as common constables, and broken shopkeepers.

And that some effectual attempt should be made toward such a reformation, is perhaps more ne-

cessary than people commonly apprehend; because the ruin of a state is generally preceded by an universal degeneracy of manners, and contempt of religion; which is entirely our case at present.

Diis te minorem, quod geris, imperas. Hor.

Neither is this a matter to be deferred, till a more convenient time of peace and leisure. A reformation in mens faith and morals, is the best natural, as well as religious means, to bring the war to a good conclusion: because, if men in trust performed their duty for conscience sake, affairs would not suffer through fraud, falsehood, and neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God, and his Providence, and acted accordingly, they might reasonably hope for his divine assistance in so just a cause as ours.

Nor could the majesty of the English crown appear, upon any occasion, in greater lustre, either to foreigners or subjects, than by an administration, which, producing such great effects, would discover so much power. And power being the natural appetite of princes, a limited monarch cannot so well gratify it in any thing, as a strict execution of the laws.

Besides, all parties would be obliged to close with so good a work as this, for their own reputation. Neither is any expedient more likely to unite them. For the most violent partymen I have

have ever observed, are such as, in the conduct of their lives, have discovered least sense of religion and morality; and when all such are laid aside, at least those among them who shall be found incorrigible, it will be a matter perhaps of no great difficulty to reconcile the rest.

The many corruptions at present in every branch of business, are almost inconceivable. I have heard it computed by skilful persons, that of six millions raised every year for the service of the public, one third, at least, is sunk and intercepted through the several classes and subordinations of artful men in office, before the remainder is applied to the proper use. This is an accidental ill effect of our freedom. And while such men are in trust, who have no check from within, nor any views but towards their interest, there is no other fence against them, but the certainty of being hanged upon the first discovery, by the arbitrary will of an unlimited monarch, or his *vizier*. Among us, the only danger to be apprehended, is the loss of an employment; and that danger is to be eluded a thousand ways. Besides, when fraud is great, it furnishes weapons to defend itself: and, at worst, if the crimes be so flagrant, that a man is laid aside out of perfect shame, (which rarely happens,) he retires loaded with the spoils of the nation; *et fruitur diis iratis*. I could name a commission, where several persons, out of a salary of five hundred pounds, without other visible revenues, have always lived at the
rate

rate of two thousand, and laid out forty or fifty thousand upon purchases of land or annuities. An hundred other instances of the same kind might easily be produced. What remedy therefore can be found against such grievances in a constitution like ours, but to bring religion into countenance, and encourage those, who, from the hope of future reward, and dread of future punishment, will be moved to act with justice and integrity?

This is not to be accomplished any other way, than by introducing religion, as much as possible, to be the turn and fashion of the age; which only lies in the power of the administration; the prince with utmost strictness regulating the court, the ministry, and other persons in great employment; and these, by their example and authority, reforming all who have dependence on them.

It is certain, that a reformation successfully carried on in this great town, would, in time, spread itself over the whole kingdom; since most of the considerable youth pass here that season of their lives, wherein the strongest impressions are made, in order to improve their education, or advance their fortune; and those among them who return into their several countries, are sure to be followed and imitated, as the greatest patterns of wit and good-breeding.

And if things were once in this train; that is, if virtue and religion were established as the necessary titles to reputation and preferment, and if vice and infidelity were not only loaden with infamy, but

but made the infallible ruin of all mens pretensions; our duty, by becoming our interest, would take root in our natures, and mix with the very genius of our people; so that it would not be easy for the example of one wicked prince to bring us back to our former corruptions.

I have confined myself (as it is before observed) to those methods for the advancement of piety, which are in the power of a prince limited like ours, by a strict execution of the laws already in force. And this is enough for a project that comes without any name or recommendation; I doubt a great deal more, than will be suddenly reduced into practice. Though, if any disposition should appear towards so good a work, it is certain, that the assistance of the legislative power would be necessary to make it more complete. I will instance only a few particulars.

In order to reform the vices of this town, which, as we have said, hath so mighty an influence on the whole kingdom, it would be very instrumental to have a law made, that all taverns and ale-houses should be obliged to dismiss their company by twelve at night, and shut up their doors; and that no woman should be suffered to enter any tavern or alehouse, upon any pretence whatsoever. It is easy to conceive, what a number of ill consequences such a law would prevent; the mischiefs of quarrels, and lewdness, and thefts, and midnight-brawls, the diseases of intemperance and venery, and a thousand other evils need-
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less to mention. Nor would it be amiss, if the masters of those public houses were obliged, upon the severest penalties, to give only a proportioned quantity of drink to every company; and when he found his guests disordered with excess, to refuse them any more.

I believe there is hardly a nation in Christendom, where all kind of fraud is practised in so unmeasurable a degree as with us. The lawyer, the tradesman, the mechanic, have found so many arts to deceive in their several callings, that they far outgrow the common prudence of mankind, which is in no sort able to fence against them. Neither could the legislature in any thing more consult the public good, than by providing some effectual remedy against this evil; which in several cases deserves greater punishment, than many crimes that are capital among us. The vintner, who, by mixing poison with his wine, destroys more lives than any malignant disease; the lawyer, who persuades you to a purchase, which he knows is mortgaged for more than the worth, to the ruin of you and your family; the banker or scrivener, who takes all your fortune, to dispose of, when he has beforehand resolved to break the following day, do surely deserve the gallows much better than the wretch who is carried there for stealing a horse.

It cannot easily be answered to God or man, why a law is not made for limiting the press; at least so far as to prevent the publishing of such
pernicious

pernicious books, as, under pretence of *free-thinking*, endeavour to overthrow those tenets in religion, which have been held inviolable almost in all ages, by every sect that pretends to be Christian; and cannot therefore, with any colour of reason, be called *points in controversy*, or *matters of speculation*, as some would pretend. The doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *divinity of Christ*, the *immortality of the soul*, and even the truth of all *revelation*, are daily exploded and denied in books openly printed; though it is to be supposed, neither party * avow such principles, or own the supporting of them to be any way necessary to their service.

It would be endless to set down every corruption or defect which requires a remedy from the legislative power. Senates are like to have little regard for any proposals that come from without doors; though, under a due sense of my own inabilities, I am fully convinced, that the unbiaſſed thoughts of an honest and wise man, employed on the good of his country, may be better digested, than the results of a multitude, where faction and interest too often prevail; as a single guide may direct the way, better than five hundred who *have contrary views*, or *look askint*, or *shut their eyes*.

I shall therefore mention but one more particular, which I think the parliament ought to take under consideration; whether it be not a shame to

* Neither Whig nor Tory.

Hawkes.

to our country, and a scandal to Christianity, that in many towns, where there is a prodigious increase in the number of houses and inhabitants, so little care shall be taken for the building of churches, that five parts in six of the people are absolutely hindered from hearing divine service? particularly here in London, ‡ where a single minister, with one or two sorry curates, hath the care sometimes of above twenty thousand souls incumbent on him. A neglect of religion, so ignominious, in my opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized age or country.

But, to leave these airy imaginations of introducing new laws for the amendment of mankind; what I principally insist on, is a due execution of the old, which lies wholly in the crown, and in the authority derived from thence. I return therefore to my former assertion, That if stations of power, trust, profit, and honour, were constantly made the rewards of virtue and piety, such an administration must needs have a mighty influence on the faith and morals of the whole kingdom: and men of great abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the duties of a religious life, in order to qualify themselves for public service. I may possibly be wrong in some of the means I prescribe towards this end; but that is no material objection against the design itself. Let those
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‡ This paragraph is known to have given the first hint to certain Bishops, particularly to Bishop Atterbury, in the Earl of Oxford's ministry, to procure a fund for building fifty new churches in London.

who are at the helm, contrive it better, which perhaps they may easily do. Every body will agree, that the disease is manifest, as well as dangerous; that some remedy is necessary, and that none, yet applied, hath been effectual; which is a sufficient excuse for any man, who wishes well to his country, to offer his thoughts, when he can have no other end in view but the public good. The present Queen is a princess of as many and great virtues as ever filled a throne: how would it brighten her character to the present and after ages, if she would exert her utmost authority to instil some share of those virtues into her people, which they are too degenerate to learn only from her example? and, be it spoke with all the veneration possible for so excellent a sovereign, her best endeavours in this weighty affair are a most important part of her duty, as well as of her interest, and her honour.

But it must be confessed, that, as things are now, every man thinks he has laid in a sufficient stock of merit, and may pretend to any employment, provided he hath been loud and frequent in declaring himself hearty for the government. It is true, he is a *man of pleasure*, a *free-thinker*; that is, in other words, he is profligate in his morals, and a despiser of religion; but, in point of party, he is one to be *confided in*; he is an assertor of liberty and property; he rattles it out, against *Papery* and *arbitrary power*, and *priestcraft* and *high-church*. It is enough: he is a person fully

qualified for any employment in the court or the navy, the law or the revenue; where he will be sure to leave no arts untried of bribery, fraud, injustice, or oppression, that he can practise with any hope of impunity. No wonder such men are true to a government, where liberty runs high, where property, *however attained*, is so well secured, and where the administration is at least so gentle: it is impossible they could chuse any other constitution, without changing to their loss.

Fidelity to a present establishment, is indeed the principal means to defend it from a foreign enemy; but, without other qualifications, will not prevent corruptions from within; and states are more often ruined by these, than the other.

To conclude: Whether the proposals I have offered towards a reformation, be such as are most prudent and convenient, may probably be a question: but it is none at all, whether some reformation be absolutely necessary: because the nature of things is such, that if abuses be not remedied, they will certainly increase, nor ever stop till they end in a subversion of a commonwealth. As there must always, of necessity, be some corruptions, so, in a well-instituted state, the executive power will be always contending against them, by *reducing things* (as Machiavel speaks) *to their first principles*, never letting abuses grow inveterate, or multiply so far, that it will be hard to find remedies, and perhaps impossible to apply them. As he that would keep his house in repair,

pair, must attend every little breach or flaw, and supply it immediately, else time alone will bring all to ruin; how much more the common accidents of storms and rain? He must live in perpetual danger of his house falling about his ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the ground, perhaps upon a new foundation, or, at least, in a new form, which may neither be so safe, nor so convenient as the old.

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THE
SENTIMENTS

OF A

CHURCH-OF-ENGLAND MAN,
With respect to RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.*

Written in the year 1708.

WHOEVER hath examined the conduct and proceedings of both *parties* for some years ~~past~~, whether in or out of power, cannot well conceive it possible to go far towards the extremes of either, without offering some violence to his integrity or understanding. A wise and a good man may indeed be sometimes induced to comply with a number, whose opinion he generally

* This piece is adapted to that particular period in which it was written. The style of the whole pamphlet is nervous, and, except in some few places, impartial. The state of Holland is justly, and, at the same time, concisely delineated. This tract is very well worth one's reading and attention: and it confirms an observation which will perpetually occur, that Swift excels in whatever style or manner he assumes. When he is in earnest, his strength of reason carries with it conviction; when in jest, every competitor in the race of wit is left behind him. *Orrery.*

This piece seemeth to have been one of Swift's projects for uniting of parties, and written with a design to check that rage
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rally approves, though it be perhaps against his own. But this liberty should be made use of upon very few occasions, and those of small importance, and then only with a view of bringing over his own side another time, to something of great and more public moment. But to sacrifice the innocence of a friend, the good of our country, or our own conscience, to the humour or passion, or interest of a party, plainly shews, that either our heads or our hearts are not as they should be. Yet this very practice is the very fundamental law of each faction among us; as may be obvious to any, who will impartially, and without engagement, be at the pains to examine their actions: which, however, is not so easy a task; for it seems a principle in human nature, to in-

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and violence, which subsisted in those times between the contending factions of *Whig* and *Tory*; and perhaps to recommend, in the place of that abominable rancour and malice, which had broken all the laws of charity and hospitality among human kind, those candid salutary principles, with respect to religion and government, which, if rightly comprehended, and vigorously pursued, might certainly preserve the whole constitution, both of *church* and *state*, for ten thousand generations. *Swift.*

This appears to be an apology for the Tories, and a justification of them against the misrepresentations of the Whigs, who were then in the ministry, and used every artifice to perpetuate their power. Mr. Harley, afterwards Lord Oxford, had, by the influence of the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer Godolphin, been lately removed from his post of Principal Secretary of State; and Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, resigned his place of Secretary at War, and Sir Simon Harcourt that of Attorney-General. *Hawkes.*

cline one way more than another, even in matters where we are wholly unconcerned. And it is a common observation, that in reading a history of facts done a thousand years ago, or standing by at play among those who are perfect strangers to us, we are apt to find our hopes and wishes engaged on a sudden in favour of one side more than another. No wonder then that we are all so ready to interest ourselves in the course of public affairs, where the most inconsiderable have some *real* share, and, by the wonderful importance which every man is of to himself, a very great *imaginary* one.

And, indeed, when the two parties that divide the whole commonwealth, come once to a rupture, without any hopes left of forming a third with better principles, to balance the others, it seems every man's duty to chuse one of the two sides; though he cannot entirely approve of either; and all pretences to neutrality are justly exploded by both, being too stale and obvious; only intending the safety and ease of a few individuals, while the public is embroiled. This was the opinion and practice of the latter Cato, whom I esteem to have been the wisest and best of all the Romans.* But before things proceed to open violence, the truest service a private man may hope to do his country, is by unbiassing his mind as much as possible, and then endeavouring

* One of the *sextumvirate* in Gulliver, part 3. chap. 7. vol. V.

ing to moderate between the rival powers; which must needs be owned a fair proceeding with the world; because it is, of all others, the least consistent with the common design of making a fortune by the *merit* of an *opinion*.

I have gone as far as I am able, in qualifying myself to be such a moderator. I believe I am no *bigot* in religion, and I am sure I am none in government. I converse in full freedom with many considerable men of both parties; and if not in equal number, it is purely accidental and personal, as happening to be near the court, and to have made acquaintance there, more under one ministry than another. Then I am not under the necessity of declaring myself by the prospect of an employment. And, lastly, if all this be not sufficient, I industriously conceal my name, which wholly exempts me from any hopes and fears in delivering my opinion.

In consequence of this free use of my reason, I cannot possibly think so well or so ill of either party, as they would endeavour to persuade the world of each other, and of themselves. For instance, I do not charge it upon the body of the *Whigs* or the *Tories*, that their several principles lead them to introduce Presbytery, and the religion of the church of Rome, or a commonwealth, and arbitrary power. For why should any party be accused of a principle, which they solemnly disown and protest against? But, to this, they have a mutual answer ready: they both assure us, that

that their adversaries are not to be believed; that they disown their principles out of fear, which are manifest enough, when we examine their practices. To prove this, they will produce instances, on one side, either of avowed Presbyterians, or persons of libertine and atheistical tenets; and on the other, of professed Papists, or such as are openly in the interest of the abdicated family. Now, it is very natural for all subordinate sects and denominations in a state, to side with some general party, and to chuse that which they find to agree with themselves in some general principle. Thus, at the *restoration*, the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and other sects, did all, with very good reason, unite and folder up their several schemes to join against the *church*; who, without regard to their distinctions, treated them all as equal adversaries. Thus our present dissenters do very naturally close in with the Whigs, who profess *moderation*; declare they abhor all thoughts of *persecution*, and think it hard, that those who differ only in a few *ceremonies* and *speculations*, should be denied the privilege and profit of serving their country in the highest employments of state. Thus, the atheists, libertines, despisers of religion and revelation in general; that is to say, all those who usually pass under the name of *Free-thinkers*, do properly join with the same body; because *they* likewise preach up *moderation*, and are not so over-nice to distinguish between an unlimited liberty of conscience,

ence, and an unlimited freedom of opinion. Then, on the other side, the professed firmness of the Tories for Episcopacy, as an apostolical institution; their aversion to those sects who ly under the reproach of having once destroyed their constitution, and who, they imagine, by too indiscreet a zeal for reformation, have defaced the primitive model of the church; next, their moderation for monarchical government in the common course of succession, and their hatred to republican schemes: these, I say, are principles which not only the nonjuring zealots profess, but even papists themselves fall readily in with. And every extreme here mentioned, flings a general scandal upon the whole body it pretends to adhere to.

But surely no man whatsoever ought, in justice or good manners, to be charged with principles he actually disowns, unless his practices do openly, and without the least room for doubt, contradict his profession; not upon small surmises, or because he has the misfortune to have ill men sometimes agree with him in a few general sentiments. However, though the extremes of *Whig* and *Tory* seem, with little justice, to have drawn religion into their controversies, wherein they have small concern; yet they both have borrowed one leading principle from the abuse of it; which is, to have built their several systems of political faith, not upon enquiries after truth, but upon opposition to each other; upon injuri-

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ous appellations, charging their adversaries with horrid opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of charity; *et neuter falso.*

In order to remove these prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual, than to describe the sentiments of a *church-of-England man*, with respect to *religion* and *government*. This I shall endeavour to do, in such a manner, as may not be liable to the least objection from either party, and which, I am confident, would be assented to by great numbers in both, if they were not misled to those mutual misrepresentations, by such motives as they would be ashamed to own.

I shall begin with *religion*.

And here, though it makes an odd sound, yet it is necessary to say, that whoever professeth himself a member of the church of England, ought to believe a God, and his Providence, together with revealed religion, and the divinity of *Christ*. For besides those many thousands, who (to speak in the phrase of divines) do practically deny all this by the immorality of their lives, there is no small number, who, in their conversation and writings, directly, or by consequence, endeavour to overthrow it: yet all these place themselves in the list of the national church, though, at the same time (as it is highly reasonable) they are great sticklers for liberty of conscience.

To enter upon particulars: A *church-of-England man* has a true veneration for the scheme established

stablished among us of ecclesiastic government; and though he will not determine, whether Episcopacy be of divine right, he is sure it is most agreeable to primitive institution; fittest of all others, for preserving order and purity, and, under its present regulations, best calculated for our civil state: he should therefore think the abolishment of that order among us, would prove a mighty scandal and corruption to our faith, and manifestly dangerous to our monarchy; nay, he would defend it by arms against all the powers on earth, except our own legislature; in which case he would submit as to a general calamity, a dearth or a pestilence.

As to rites and ceremonies, and forms of prayer, he allows there might be some useful alterations; and more, which in the prospect of uniting Christians might be very supportable, as things declared in their own nature indifferent; to which he would therefore readily comply, if the *clergy*, or (though this be not so fair a method) if the *legislature* should direct: yet, at the same time, he cannot altogether blame the former for their unwillingness to consent to any alteration; which, beside the trouble, and perhaps disgrace, would certainly never produce the good effects intended by it. The only condition that could make it prudent and just for the clergy to comply in altering the ceremonial, or any other indifferent part, would be a firm resolution in the legislature to interpose, by some strict and effectual laws, to prevent

prevent the rising and spreading of new sects, how plausible soever, for the future; else there must never be an end; and it would be to act like a man who should pull down and change the ornaments of his house, in compliance with every one who was disposed to find fault as he passed by; which, besides the perpetual trouble and expence, would very much damage, and perhaps, in time, destroy the building. Sects in a state seem only tolerated with any reason, because they are already spread; and because it would not be agreeable with so mild a government, or so pure a religion as ours, to use violent methods against great numbers of *mistaken* people, while they do not manifestly endanger the constitution of either. But the greatest advocates for general liberty of conscience, will allow, that they ought to be checked in their beginnings, if they will allow them to be an evil at all, or, which is the same thing, if they will only grant it were better for the peace of the state, that there should be none. But while the clergy consider the natural temper of mankind in general, or of our own country in particular, what assurances can they have, that any compliances they shall make, will remove the evil of dissent, while the liberty still continues of professing whatever new opinions we please? Or how can it be imagined, that the body of dissenting teachers, who must be all undone by such a revolution, will not cast about for some new objections

tions to withhold their flocks, and draw in fresh profelytes by some further innovations or refinements?

Upon these reasons, he is for tolerating such different forms in religious worship, as are already admitted; but by no means for leaving it in the power of those who are tolerated, to advance their own models upon the ruin of what is already established; which it is natural for all sects to desire, and which they cannot be justified by any consistent principles, if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot succeed in, without the utmost danger to the public peace.

To prevent these inconveniencies, he thinks it highly just, that all rewards of trust, profit, or dignity, which the state leaves in the disposal of the administration, should be given only to those whose principles direct them to preserve the constitution in all its parts. In the late affair of *occasional conformity*, the general argument of those who were against it, was not, to deny it an evil in itself, but that the remedy proposed, was violent, untimely, and improper; which is the Bishop of Salisbury's* opinion, in the speech he made and published against the bill. But, however just their fears or complaints might have been upon that score, he thinks it a little too gross and precipitate, to employ their writers already in arguments for repealing the sacramental test, upon no wiser a maxim, than that no man

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I

should,

* Dr. Burnet.

should, on the account of conscience, be deprived the liberty of serving his country; a topic which may be equally applied to admit *Papists*, *Atheists*, *Mahometans*, *Heathens*, and *Jews*. If the church wants members of its own to employ in the service of the public, or be so unhappily contrived, as to exclude from its communion such persons who are likeliest to have great abilities, it is time it should be altered, and reduced into some more perfect, or at least more popular form: but, in the mean while, it is not altogether improbable, that when those who dislike the constitution, are so very zealous in their offers for the service of their country, they are not wholly unmindful of their party, or of themselves.

The Dutch, whose practice is so often quoted to prove and celebrate the great advantages of a general liberty of conscience, have yet a national religion professed by all who bear office among them. But why should they be a precedent for us, either in religion or government? Our country differs from theirs, as well in situation, soil, and productions of nature, as in the genius and complexion of inhabitants. They are a commonwealth founded on a sudden, by a desperate attempt, in a desperate condition; not formed or digested into a regular system, by mature thought and reason, but huddled up under the pressure of sudden exigencies; calculated for no long duration, and hitherto subsisting by accident in the midst of contending powers, who cannot yet agree

gree about sharing it amongst them. These difficulties do indeed preserve them from any great corruptions, which their crazy constitution would extremely subject them to in a long peace. That confluence of people in a persecuting age to a place of refuge nearest at hand, put them upon the necessity of trade, to which they wisely gave all ease and encouragement. And if we could think fit to imitate them in this last particular, there would need no more to invite foreigners among us; who seem to think no farther than how to secure their property and conscience, without projecting any share in that government which gives them protection, or calling it *persecution*, if it be denied them. But I speak it for the honour of our administration, that although our sects are not so numerous as those in Holland, which I presume is not our *fault*, and I hope is not our *misfortune*, we much excel them, and all *Christendom* besides, in our indulgence to tender consciences. * One single compliance with the national form of receiving the sacrament, is all we require to qualify any sectary among us for the greatest employments in the state; after which, he is at liberty to rejoin his own assemblies for the rest of his life. Besides, I will suppose any of the numerous sects in Holland to have so far prevailed, as to have raised a civil war; destroyed their government and religion,

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* When this was written, there was no law against occasional conformity.

gion, and put their *administrators* to death; after which, I will suppose the people to have recovered all again, and to have settled on their old foundation. Then I would put a query, whether that sect, which was the unhappy instrument of all this confusion, could reasonably expect to be intrusted for the future with the greatest employments, or indeed to be hardly tolerated among them?

To go on with the sentiments of a *church-of-England man*: He does not see how that mighty passion for the church, which some men pretend, can well consist with those indignities and that contempt they bestow on the persons of the clergy. It is a strange mark whereby to distinguish *high-churchmen*, that they are such who imagine the clergy can never be too *low*. He thinks the maxim these gentlemen are so fond of, that they are for an humble clergy, is a very good one: and so is he, and for an humble laity too; since humility is a virtue that perhaps equally befits and adorns every station of life.

But then, if the scribblers on the other side, freely speak the sentiments of their party, a divine of the church of England cannot look for much better quarter from thence. You shall observe nothing more frequent in their weekly papers, than a way of affecting to confound the terms of *clergy* and *high-church*, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the calumny they can invent. They will tell you, they honour a clergyman; but talk, at the
same

same time, as if there were not three in the kingdom who could fall in with their definition. After the like manner, they insult the *universities*, as poisoned fountains, and corrupters of youth.

Now, it seems clear to me, that the *Whigs* might easily have procured and maintained a majority among the clergy, and perhaps in the universities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this intemperance of speech and virulence of pen, in the worst and most prostitute of their party: among whom there hath been, for some years past, such a perpetual clamour against the ambition, the implacable temper, and the covetousness of the *priesthood*; such a cant of *high-church*, and persecution, and being *priest-ridden*; so many reproaches about *narrow principles*, or *terms of communion*; then such scandalous reflections on the *universities*, for infecting the youth of the nation with arbitrary and *Jacobite* principles, that it was natural for those who had the care of religion and education, to apprehend some general design of altering the constitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, because it could not easily be forgot, that whatever opposition was made to the usurpations of *King James*, proceeded altogether from the church of England, and chiefly from the *clergy*, and one of the *universities*. For if it were of any use to recal matters of fact, what is more notorious than that prince's applying himself first to the

the church of England; and, upon their refusal to fall in with his measures, making the like advances to the *dissenters* of all kinds? who readily, and almost universally complied with him, affecting, in their numerous addresses and pamphlets, the style of *our brethren the Roman Catholics*; whose interests they put on the same foot with their own: and some of Cromwell's officers took posts in the army raised against the Prince of Orange. These proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the provocations they had met from the church in King Charles's reign; which, though perhaps excusable upon the score of human infirmity, are not by any means a plea of merit equal to the constancy and sufferings of the bishops and clergy, or of the head and fellows of Magdalen-college, that furnished the Prince of Orange's declaration with such powerful arguments to justify and promote the *revolution*.

Therefore, a *church-of-England man* abhors the humour of the age, in delighting to fling scandals upon the clergy in general; which, besides the disgrace to the *reformation*, and to religion itself, cast an ignominy upon the kingdom, that it doth not deserve. We have no better materials to compound the priesthood of, than the mass of mankind, which, corrupted as it is, those who receive orders must have some vices to leave behind them when they enter into the church; and if a few do still adhere, it is no wonder, but rather

ther a great one, that they are no worfe. Therefore, he cannot think *ambition*, or *love of power*, more juſtly laid to their charge, than to other men; becauſe that would be to make religion itſelf, or at leaſt the beſt conſtitution of *church-government*, anſwerable for the errors and depravity of human nature.

Within theſe laſt two hundred years, all ſorts of temporal power have been wreſted from the clergy, and much of their eccleſiaſtic; the reaſon or juſtice of which proceeding, I ſhall not examine: but, that the remedies were a little too violent, with reſpect to their *poſſeſſions*, the legiſlature hath lately confeſſed, by the remiſſion of their *firſt-fruits*. Neither do the common libellers deny this; who, in their invectives, only tax the church with an inſatiable deſire of power and wealth, (equally common to all bodies of men, as well as individuals,) but thank God, that the laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth obſerving the juſtice of parties. The ſects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard uſage, to be reproached now, after fifty years, for overturning the ſtate, for the murder of a King, and the indignity of an uſurpation; yet theſe very men, and their partifans, are continually reproaching the clergy, and laying to their charge, the pride, the avarice, the luxury, the ignorance, and ſuperſtition of *Pepiſh* times, for a thouſand years paſt.

He thinks it a ſcandal to government, that ſuch an unlimited liberty ſhould be allowed, of
publishing

publishing books against those doctrines in religion, wherein all Christians have agreed; much more to connive at such tracts as reject all revelation, and, by their consequences, often deny the very being of a God. Surely, it is not a sufficient atonement for the writers, that they profess much loyalty to the present government, and sprinkle up and down some arguments in favour of the *dissenters*; that they dispute as strenuously as they can, for liberty of conscience, and inveigh largely against all ecclesiastics, under the name of *high-church*; and, in short, under the shelter of some popular principles in politics and religion, undermine the foundations of all piety and virtue.

As he doth not reckon every *schism* of that damnable nature which some would represent, so, he is very far from closing with the new opinion of those who would make it no crime at all; and argue at a wild rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the variety of faith and worship, as he is with the varieties of nature. To such absurdities are men carried by the affectation of *free-thinking*, and removing the prejudices of education; under which head, they have, for some time, begun to list *morality* and *religion*. It is certain, that, before the rebellion in 1642, though the number of *Puritans* (as they were then called) was as great as it is with us, and though they affected to follow pastors of that denomination; yet, those pastors had episcopal ordination, possessed

ferred preferments in the church, and were sometimes promoted to bishoprics themselves. But, a breach in the general form of worship was, in those days, reckoned so dangerous and sinful in itself, and so offensive to *Roman Catholics* at home and abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted: neither, I believe, was the expedient then found out, of maintaining separate pastors out of private purses.

When a *schism* is once spread in a nation, there grows at length a dispute, which are the schismatics. Without entering on the arguments used by both sides among us, to fix the guilt on each other, it is certain, that, in the sense of the law, the *schism* lies on that side which opposeth itself to the religion of the state. I leave it among the *divines* to dilate upon the danger of *schism* as a spiritual evil; but I would consider it only as a temporal one. And I think it clear, that any great separation from the established worship, though to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an occasion of endangering the public peace; because it will compose a body always in reserve, prepared to follow any discontented heads, upon the plausible prettexts of advancing *true religion*, and opposing error, superstition, or idolatry. For this reason, Plato lays it down as a maxim, That *men ought to worship the gods according to the laws of the country*; and he introduces Socrates, in his last discourse, utterly disowning the crime laid to his charge, of *teaching new divinities*, or methods
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of worship.—Thus, the poor *Hugonots* of France were engaged in a civil war, by the specious pretences of some, who, under the guise of religion, sacrificed so many thousand lives to their own ambition and revenge. Thus was the whole body of *Puritans* in England drawn to be instruments or abettors of all manner of villany, by the artifices of a *few men*, whose designs, from the first, were levelled to destroy the constitution both of religion and government*. And thus, even in Holland itself, where it is pretended, that the variety of sects live so amicably together, and in such perfect obedience to the magistrate, it is notorious, how a turbulent party, joining with the *Arminians*, did, in the memory of our fathers, attempt to destroy the liberty of that republic. So that, upon the whole, where sects are tolerated in a state, it is fit they should enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and every other privilege of free-born subjects, to which no power is annexed. And, to preserve their obedience, upon all emergencies, a government cannot give them too much ease, nor trust them with too little power.

The *clergy* are usually charged with a *persecuting spirit*, which they are said to discover, by an implacable hatred to all *dissenters*: and this appears to be more unreasonable, because they suffer less in their interests by a *toleration*, than any of the *conforming laity*; for, while the *church* remains in its present form, no dissenter can possibly

* Lord Clarendon's history.

bly have any share in its dignities, revenues, or power; whereas, by once receiving the sacrament, he is rendered capable of the highest employments in the state. And it is very possible, that a narrow education, together with a mixture of human infirmity, may help to beget among some of the *clergy in possession*, such an aversion and contempt for all *innovators*, as *physicians* are apt to have for *empirics*; or *lawyers* for *pettifoggers*, or *merchants* for *pedlars*: But, since the number of sectaries doth not concern the clergy, either in point of interest or conscience, (it being an evil not in their power to remedy,) it is more fair and reasonable to suppose, their dislike proceeds from the dangers they apprehend to the peace of the commonwealth, in the ruin whereof, they must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers.

To conclude this *section*, it must be observed, that there is a very good word, which hath, of late, suffered much by both parties; I mean *moderation*; which the one side very justly disowns, and the other as unjustly pretends to. Beside what passes every day in conversation, any man who reads the papers published by Mr. Lesley, and others of his stamp, must needs conclude, that, if this author could make the nation see his adversaries under the colours he paints them in, we have nothing else to do, but rise as one man, and destroy such wretches from the face of the earth. On the other side, how shall we excuse
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the advocates for *moderation*? among whom, I could appeal to a hundred papers, of universal approbation, by the cause they were writ for, which lay such principles to the whole body of the *Tories*, as if they were true; and believed, our next business should, in prudence, be, to erect gibbets in every parish, and hang them out of the way. But, I suppose it is presumed, the common people understand *raillery*, or at least *rhetoric*; and will not take *hyperboles* in too literal a sense; which, however, in some junctures, might prove a desperate experiment. And this is *moderation*, in the *modern* sense of the word; to which, speaking impartially, the bigots of both parties are *equally* intitled.

S E C T. II.

The sentiments of a church-of-England man, with respect to government.

WE look upon it as a very just reproach, though we cannot agree where to fix it, that there should be so much violence and hatred, in religious matters, among men who agree in all fundamentals, and only differ in some ceremonies, or, at most, mere speculative points. Yet, is not this frequently the case between contending parties in a state? For instance, do not the generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among us, profess to agree in the same *fundamentals*, their loyalty

ty to the Queen, their abjuration of the *pretender*, the settlement of the crown in the Protestant line, and a revolution-principle? their affection to the church established, with toleration of dissenters? Nay, sometimes they go farther, and pass over into each other's principles; the *Whigs* become great asserters of the prerogative, and the *Tories*, of the people's liberty; these crying down almost the whole set of bishops, and those defending them: so that the differences, fairly stated, would be much of a sort with those in religion among us, and amount to little more than, *who should take place, or go in and out first, or kiss the Queen's hand*; and what are these but a few court-ceremonies? or, *who should be in the ministry*; and what is that to the body of the nation, but a mere *speculative point*? Yet, I think it must be allowed, that no religious sects ever carried their mutual aversions to greater heights than our state-parties have done, who, the more to inflame their passions, have mixed religious and civil animosities together; borrowing one of their appellations from the church, with the addition of *high* and *low*, how little soever their disputes relate to the term, as it is generally understood.

I now proceed to deliver the sentiments of a *church-of-England man*, with respect to government.

He doth not think the church of England so narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular species of government; nor doth he

think any one regular species of government more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the *schools*, have, all of them, their several perfections, and are subject to their several depravations. However, few states are ruined by any defect in their institution, but generally by the corruption of manners, against which, the best institution is no longer a security, and without which, a very ill one may subsist and flourish; whereof there are two pregnant instances now in Europe. The first is, the *aristocracy* of Venice; which, founded upon the wisest maxims, and digested by a great length of time, hath, in our age, admitted so many abuses, through the degeneracy of the nobles, that the period of its duration seems to approach. The other is the united republics of the *States-General*, where, a vein of temperance, industry, parsimony, and a public spirit, running through the whole body of the people, hath preserved an infant commonwealth, of an untimely birth, and sickly constitution, for above an hundred years, through so many dangers and difficulties, as a much more healthy one could never have struggled against, without those advantages.

Where security of person and property are preserved by laws, which none but the *whole* can repeal; there, the great ends of government are provided for, whether the administration be in the hands of *one*, or of *many*. Where any one *person* or *body* of men, who do not represent the *whole*, seize

seize into their hands the power, in the last resort, there is properly no longer a government, but what Aristotle and his followers call the *abuse* and *corruption* of one. This distinction excludes arbitrary power, in whatever numbers; which, notwithstanding all that Hobbes, Filmer, and others, have said to its advantage, I look upon as a greater evil than *anarchy* itself; as much as a *savage* is in a happier state of life, than a *slave* at the oar.

It is reckoned ill manners, as well as unreasonable, for men to quarrel upon difference in opinion; because that is usually supposed to be a thing which no man can help in himself. But this I do not conceive to be an universal infallible maxim, except in those cases where the question is pretty equally disputed among the learned and the wise. Where it is otherwise, a man of tolerable reason, some experience, and willing to be instructed, may apprehend he has got into a wrong opinion, though the whole course of his mind and inclination would persuade him to believe it true: he may be convinced that he is in an error, though he does not see where it lies, by the bad effects of it in the common conduct of his life, and by observing those persons, for whose wisdom and goodness he hath the greatest deference, to be of a contrary sentiment. According to Hobbes's comparison of *reasoning* with *casting up accounts*, whoever finds a mistake in the *sum total*, must allow himself out, though, after

repeated trials, he may not see in which article he has misreckoned. I will instance in one opinion, which I look upon every man obliged in conscience to quit, or in prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in defence of absolute power in a single person, though he offers the old plausible plea, that *it his opinion, which he cannot help, unless he be convinced*, ought, in all free states, to be treated as the common enemy of mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy charge upon the clergy of the two reigns before the *revolution*, who, under the terms of *passive obedience*, and *non-resistance*, are said to have preached up the unlimited power of the prince, because they found it a doctrine that pleased the court, and made way for their preferment. And, I believe, there may be truth enough in this accusation, to convince us, that human frailty will too often interpose itself among persons of the holiest function. However, it may be offered in excuse for the clergy, that, in the best societies, there are some ill members, which a corrupted court and ministry will industriously find out and introduce. Besides, it is manifest, that the greater number of those who held and preached this doctrine, were misguided by equivocal terms, and by perfect ignorance in the principles of government, which they had not made any part of their study. The question originally put, and as I remember to have heard it disputed in public schools, was this, *Whether, under any pretence whatsoever, it*
may

may be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate? which was held in the negative; and this is certainly the right opinion. But many of the clergy, and other learned men, deceived by a dubious expression, mistook the *object* to which *passive obedience* was due. By the *supreme magistrate*, is properly understood the *legislative* power, which, in all governments, must be absolute and unlimited. But the word *magistrate* seeming to denote a *single person*, and to express the *executive* power, it came to pass, that the obedience due to the *legislature*, was, for want of knowing or considering this easy distinction, misapplied to the *administration*. Neither is it any wonder, that the clergy, or other well-meaning people, should fall into this error, which deceived *Hobbes* himself so far, as to be the foundation of all the political mistakes in his books; where he perpetually confounds the *executive* with the *legislative* power; though all well instituted states have ever placed them in different hands; as may be obvious to those who know any thing of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and other republics of Greece, as well as the greater ones of Carthage and Rome.

Besides, it is to be considered, that, when these doctrines began to be preached among us, the kingdom had not quite worn out the memory of that horrid *rebellion*, under the consequences of which it had groaned almost twenty years. And a *weak prince*, in conjunction with a succession of most prostitute ministers, began again to dispose

the people to new attempts, which it was, no doubt, the clergy's duty to endeavour to prevent; though some of them, for want of knowledge in temporal affairs, and others, perhaps, from a worse principle, proceeded upon a topic, that, strictly followed, would enslave all mankind.

Among other theological arguments made use of in those times, in praise of monarchy, and justification of absolute obedience to a prince, there seemed to be one of a singular nature. It was urged, That *heaven* was governed by a *monarch*, who had none to control his power, but was absolutely obeyed: then it followed, that earthly governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated the government in heaven. All which I look upon as the strongest argument against *despotic* power that ever was offered; since no reason can possibly be assigned, why it is best for the world, that God Almighty hath such a power, which doth not directly prove, that no mortal man should ever have the like.

But though a *church-of-England man* thinks every species of government equally *lawful*, he does not think them equally *expedient*; or for every country indifferently. There may be something in the climate naturally disposing men towards one sort of obedience; as it is manifest all over *Asia*, where we never read of any commonwealth, except some small ones on the western coasts, established by the Greeks. There may be a great deal in the situation of a country, and
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in the present *genius* of the people. It hath been observed, that the temperate climates usually run into moderate governments, and the extremes into despotic power. It is a remark of Hobbes, that the youth of England are corrupted in their principles of government, by reading the authors of Greece and Rome, who writ under commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the honour of liberty, that, while the rest of the known world was over-run with the arbitrary government of single persons, arts and *sciences* took their rise, and flourished, only in those few small *territories* where the people were *free*. And, though *learning* may continue after *liberty* is lost, as it did in Rome, for a while, upon the foundations laid under the commonwealth, and the particular patronage of some emperors, yet it hardly ever began under a *tyranny* in any nation: because *slavery* is, of all things, the greatest clog and obstacle to *speculation*. And, indeed, arbitrary power is but the first natural step from *anarchy*, or the *savage life*; the adjusting *power* and *freedom*, being an effect and consequence of maturer thinking: and this is no where so duly regulated as in a limited monarchy; because I believe it may pass for a maxim in state, That *the administration cannot be placed in too few hands*, nor the *legislature* in too many. Now, in this material point, the constitution of the English government far exceeds all others at this time on the earth; to which the present establishment of
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the church doth so happily agree, that, I think, whoever is an enemy to *either*, must, of necessity, be so to *both*.

He thinks, as our monarchy is constituted, an *hereditary* right is much to be preferred before *election*; because the government here, especially by some late amendments, is so regularly disposed, in all its parts, that it almost *executes* itself: and, therefore, upon the death of a prince among us, the administration goes on without any rub or interruption. For the same reasons, we have less to apprehend from the *weakness* or *fury* of our monarchs, who have such wise councils to guide the first, and laws to restrain the other. And, therefore, this hereditary right should be kept so sacred, as never to break the succession, unless where the preserving it may endanger the constitution; which is not from any intrinsic merit or unalienable right in a *particular family*, but to avoid the consequences that usually attend the ambition of competitors, to which elective kingdoms are exposed; and which is the only obstacle to hinder them from arriving at the greatest perfection that government can possibly reach. Hence appears the absurdity of that distinction between a king *de facto*, and one *de jure*, with respect to us. For every *limited* monarch is a king *de jure*; because he governs by the consent of the *whole*, which is authority sufficient to abolish all precedent right. If a king come in by *conquest*, he is no longer a *limited* monarch; if he afterwards
consent

consent to limitations, he becomes immediately king *de jure*, for the same reason.

The great advocates for *succession*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any regard or consideration whatsoever, do insist much upon one argument, that seems to carry little weight. They would have it, that a *crown* is a prince's birth-right, and ought, at least, to be as well secured to him and his posterity, as the inheritance of any private man; in short, that he has the same title to his kingdom, which every individual has to his property. Now, the consequence of this doctrine must be, that, as a man may find several ways to waste, mispend, or abuse his patrimony, without being answerable to the laws; so a king may, in like manner, do what he will with *his own*; that is, he may squander and misapply his revenues, and even alienate the crown, without being called to an account by his subjects. They allow such a prince to be guilty, indeed, of much folly and wickedness; but for these he is *answerable to God*, as every private man must be, that is guilty of mismanagement in his own concerns. Now, the folly of this reasoning will best appear, by applying it in a parallel case. Should any man argue, that a physician is supposed to understand his own art best; that the law protects and encourages his profession; and, therefore, although he should manifestly prescribe *poison* to all his patients, whereof they should immediately die, he cannot be justly punished, but is answerable

answerable only to God: or should the same be offered in behalf of a divine, who would preach against religion and moral duties; in either of these two cases, every body would find out the sophistry, and presently answer, That although common men are not exactly skilled in the composition or application of medicines, or in prescribing the limits of duty; yet the difference between *poisons* and *remedies* is easily known by their effects; and common reason soon distinguishes between *virtue* and *vice*: and it must be necessary to forbid both these the further practice of their professions, because their crimes are not purely personal to the physician or the divine, but destructive to the public. All which is infinitely stronger in respect to a prince, in whose good or ill conduct the happiness or misery of a whole nation is included; whereas, it is of small consequence to the public, farther than example, how any private person manageth his property.

But, granting that the right of a lineal successor to a crown were upon the same foot with the property of a subject; still it may at any time be transferred by the legislative power, as other properties frequently are. The supreme power in a state can *do no wrong*; because, whatever that doth, is the action of all: and, when the *lawyers* apply this maxim to the *king*, they must understand it only in that sense, as he is administrator of the supreme power; otherwise it is not universally true, but may be controlled in several instances, easy to produce.

And

And these are the topics we must proceed upon, to justify our exclusion of the young *pretender* in France; that of his suspected birth being merely popular, and therefore not made use of, as I remember, since the revolution, in any speech, vote, or proclamation, where there was occasion to mention him.

As to the *abdication* of King James, which the advocates on that side look upon to have been forcible and unjust, and consequently void in itself, I think a man may observe every article of the English church, without being in much pain about it. It is not unlikely, that all doors were laid open for his departure, and, perhaps, not without the privity of the prince of Orange; as reasonably concluding, that the kingdom might better be settled in his absence. But, to affirm he had any cause to apprehend the same treatment with his *father*, is an improbable scandal, flung upon the nation by a few bigotted French scribblers, or the invidious assertion of a ruined party at home, in the bitterness of their souls; not one material circumstance agreeing with those in 1648; and the greatest part of the nation having preserved the utmost horror for that ignominious *murder*. But whether his removal were caused by his own *fears*, or other mens *artifices*, it is manifest to me, that, supposing the throne to be vacant, which was the foot the nation went upon, the body of the people was thereupon left at liberty to chuse what form of government they pleased, by themselves, or their representatives.

The

The only difficulty of any weight against the proceedings at the revolution, is an obvious objection, to which the writers upon that subject have not yet given a direct or sufficient answer; as if they were in pain at some consequences, which they apprehend those of the contrary opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this objection, as it was offered me some time ago, with all its advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy gentleman of the nonjuring party.*

The force of his argument turned upon this, That the laws made by the supreme power, cannot, otherwise than by the supreme power, be annulled: That this consisted, in England, of a King, Lords, and Commons, whereof each have a negative voice; no two of them can repeal or enact a law, without consent of the third; much less may any one of them be entirely excluded from its part of the legislature, by a *vote* of the other two: That all these maxims were openly violated at the revolution; where an assembly of the *nobles* and *people*, not summoned by the King's writ, (which was an essential part of the constitution,) and consequently no lawful meeting, did, merely upon their own authority, declare the King to have abdicated, the throne vacant; and gave the crown by a vote to a *nephew*, when there were three children to inherit; though, by the fundamental laws of the realm, the next heir is

* Mr. Nelson, author of the *seasts and fasts of the church of England*.

is immediately to succeed. Neither doth it appear, how a prince's *abdication* can make any other sort of vacancy in the throne, than would be caused by his death; since he cannot abdicate for his children, (who claim their right of succession by act of parliament,) otherwise than by his own consent, in form, to a bill from the two houses.

And this is the difficulty that seems chiefly to stick with the most reasonable of those, who, from a mere scruple of conscience, refuse to join with us upon the revolution-principle; but the rest are, I believe, as far from loving arbitrary government as any others can be, who are born under a free constitution, and are allowed to have the least share of common good sense.

In this objection, there are two questions included. First, Whether, upon the foot of our constitution, as it stood in the reign of the late King James, a king of England may be deposed? The second is, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority, after the king had withdrawn himself in the manner he did, had power to alter the succession?

As for the first, it is a point I shall not presume to determine; and shall, therefore, only say, that, to any man who holds the negative, I would demand the liberty of putting the case as strongly as I please. I will suppose a prince limited by laws like ours, yet running into a thousand caprices of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula; I will suppose him to murder his mother and his wife;

to commit incest, to ravish matrons, to blow up the senate, and burn his metropolis; openly to renounce God and Christ, and worship the devil: these, and the like exorbitancies, are in the power of a single person to commit, without the advice of a ministry, or assistance of an army. And, if such a king as I have described, cannot be deposed but by his own consent in parliament, I do not well see how he can be *resisted*; or what can be meant by a *limited* monarchy; or what signifies the people's consent, in making and repealing laws, if the person who administers, hath no tie but conscience, and is answerable to none but God. I desire no stronger proof, that an opinion must be false, than to find very great absurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the present case: for it is not a bare speculation, that kings may run into such enormities as are above mentioned; the practice may be proved by examples, not only drawn from the first Cæsars, or later Emperors, but many modern princes of Europe; such as, Peter the Cruel, Philip II. of Spain, John Basilovits of Muscovy; and, in our own nation, king John, Richard III. and Henry VIII. But there cannot be equal absurdities supposed in maintaining the contrary opinion; because it is certain, that princes have it in their power to keep a majority on their side by any tolerable administration, till provoked by continual oppressions: no man, indeed, can then answer where the madness of the people will stop.

As

As to the second part of the objection, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority, upon king James's precipitate departure, had power to alter the succession?

In answer to this, I think it is manifest from the practice of the wisest nations, and who seem to have had the truest notions of freedom, that when a prince was laid aside for maleadministration, the *nobles* and *people*, if they thought it necessary for the public weal, did resume the administration of the supreme power, (the power itself having been always in them,) and did not only alter the succession, but often the very form of government too; because they believed there was no natural right in one man to govern another, but that all was by institution, force, or consent. Thus, the cities of Greece, when they drove out their tyrannical kings, either chose others from a new family, or abolished the kingly government, and became free states. Thus the Romans, upon the expulsion of Tarquin, found it inconvenient for them to be subject any longer to the pride, the lust, the cruelty and arbitrary will of single persons; and, therefore, by general consent, entirely altered the whole frame of their government. Nor do I find the proceedings of either, in this point, to have been condemned by any historian of the succeeding ages.

But a great deal hath been already said by other writers upon this invidious and beaten subject; therefore I shall let it fall; though the

point is commonly mistaken, especially by the *lawyers*; who, of all others, seem least to understand the nature of government in general; like under-workmen, who are expert enough at making a single wheel in a clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjust the several parts, or regulate the movements.

To return, therefore, from this digression: It is a *church-of-England man's* opinion, that the freedom of a nation consists in an absolute *unlimited legislative power*, wherein the whole body of the people are fairly represented, and in an *executive, duly limited*; because on this side, likewise, there may be dangerous degrees, and a very ill extreme. For, when two parties in a state are pretty equal in *power, pretensions, merit, and virtue*, (for these two last are, with relation to parties and a court, quite different things,) it hath been the opinion of the best writers upon government, that a prince ought not, in any sort, to be under the guidance or influence of either; because he declines, by this means, from his office of presiding over the *whole*, to be the head of a *party*: which, besides the indignity, renders him answerable for all public mismanagements, and the consequences of them: and, in whatever state this happens, there must either be a weakness in the prince or ministry, or else the former is too much restrained by the nobles, or those who represent the people.

To

To conclude : A *church-of-England man* may, with prudence and a good conscience, approve the professed principles of one party, more than the other, according as he thinks they best promote the good of church and state ; but he will never be swayed, by passion or interest, to advance an opinion, merely because it is *that* of the party he most approves ; which one single principle, he looks upon as the root of all our civil animosities. To enter into a party, as into an order of *friars*, with so resigned an obedience to superiors, is very unsuitable, both with the civil and religious liberties we so zealously assert. Thus, the understandings of a whole senate are often enslaved by three or four leaders on each side ; who, instead of intending the public weal, have their hearts wholly set upon ways and means how to get, or to keep employments. But, to speak more at large, how has this spirit of faction mingled itself with the mass of the people, changed their nature and manners, and the very genius of the nation ? broke all the laws of charity, neighbourhood, alliance, and hospitality, destroyed all ties of friendship, and divided families against themselves ? And no wonder it should be so, when, in order to find out the character of a person, instead of enquiring whether he be a man of virtue, honour, piety, wit, good sense, or learning ; the modern question is only, Whether he be a *Whig* or a *Tory* ? under which terms, all good and ill qualities are included.

Now, because it is a point of difficulty to chuse an exact middle between two ill extremes, it may be worth enquiring, in the present case, which of these a wise and good man would rather seem to avoid. Taking, therefore, their own good and ill characters, with due abatements and allowances for partiality and passion, I should think, that, in order to preserve the constitution entire in church and state, whoever hath a true value for both, would be sure to avoid the extremes of *Whig* for the sake of the former, and the extremes of *Tory* on account of the latter.

I have now said all that I could think convenient upon so nice a subject, and find I have the ambition common with other reasoners, to wish at least that both parties may think me *in the right*; which would be of some use to those who have any virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the extravagancies of either, upon false representations, to serve the ambition or malice of designing men, without any prospect of their own. But if that is not to be hoped for, my next wish should be, that both might think me *in the wrong*; which I would understand as an ample justification of myself, and a sure ground to believe, that I have proceeded at least with impartiality, and perhaps with truth.

POSTHU-

POSTHUMOUS SERMONS.*

S E R M O N I.

O N T H E T R I N I T Y.

I Epistle general of St. JOHN v. 7.

*For there are three that bear record in heaven,
the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and
these three are one.*

THIS day being set apart to acknowledge our belief in the eternal *Trinity*, I thought it might be proper to employ my present discourse entirely upon that subject: and I hope to handle it in such a manner, that the most ignorant among

* These sermons are curious, and curious for such reasons as would make other works despicable. They were written in a careless hurrying manner; and were the offspring of necessity, not of choice: so that one will see the original force of the Dean's genius more in these compositions, than were the legitimate sons of duty, than in other pieces that were the natural sons of love. They were held in such low esteem in his own thoughts, that, some years before he died, he gave away the whole collection to Dr. Sheridan, with the utmost indifference: "Here," says he, "are a bundle of my old sermons. You may have them if you please. They may be of use to you; they have never been of any to me." The parcel given to Dr. Sheridan consisted, as I have heard, of about thirty-five sermons. Three or four only are published; and those I have read over with attention. ORRERY.

among you may return home better informed of your duty in this great point, than probably you are at present.

It must be confessed, that, by the weakness and indiscretion of busy, or, at best, of well-meaning people, as well as by the malice of those who are enemies to all revealed religion, and are not content to possess their own infidelity in silence, without communicating it, to the disturbance of mankind; I say, by these means, it must be confessed, that the doctrine of the Trinity hath suffered very much, and made Christianity suffer along with it. For, these two things must be granted: First, That men of wicked lives would be very glad there were no truth in Christianity at all; and, secondly, If they can pick out any one single article in the Christian religion, which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted reason, or to the arguments of those bad people who follow the trade of seducing others, they presently conclude, that the truth of the whole gospel must sink along with that one article. Which is just as wise, as if a man should say, because he dislikes one law of his country, he will therefore observe no law at all; and yet that one law may be very reasonable in itself, although he does not allow it, or does not know the reason of the law-givers.

Thus it hath happened with the great doctrine of the *Trinity*; which word is indeed not in scripture, but was a term of art, invented in the
earlier

earlier times, to express the doctrine by a single word, for the sake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine, then, as delivered in holy scripture, though not exactly in the same words, is very short, and amounts only to this; That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are each of them God, and yet there is but one God. For, as to the word *person*, when we say there are three persons; and as to those other explanations in the Athanasian creed, this day read to you, (whether compiled by Athanasius or no,) they were taken up three hundred years after Christ, to expound this doctrine; and I will tell you upon what occasion. About that time, there sprang up a heresy of people called *Arians*, from one *Arius*, the leader of them. These denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the rest of the gospel, (wherein they were more sincere than their followers among us.) Thus the Christian world was divided into two parts, till at length, by the zeal and courage of St. Athanasius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true faith, as St. Athanasius hath settled it. This creed is now read at certain times in our churches; which, although it is useful for edification to those who understand it, yet, since it contains some nice and philosophical points, which few people can comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the scripture-doctrine, as I have delivered it; because that creed was intended

ed only as an answer to the Arians in their own way, who were very subtle disputers.

But this heresy having revived in the world about an hundred years ago, and continued ever since; not out of a zeal to truth, but to give a loose to wickedness, by throwing off all religion; several divines, in order to answer the cavils of those adversaries to truth and morality, began to find out farther explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity, by rules of philosophy; which have multiplied controversies to such a degree, as to beget scruples that have perplexed the minds of many sober Christians, who otherwise could never have entertained them.

I must, therefore, be so bold to affirm, that the method taken by many of those learned men, to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, hath been founded upon a mistake.

It must be allowed, that every man is bound to follow the rules and directions of that measure of reason which God hath given him. And indeed, he cannot do otherwise, if he will be sincere, or act like a man. For instance, if I should be commanded, by an angel from heaven, to believe it is midnight at noon-day; yet, I could not believe him. So, if I were directly told in scripture, that *three* are *one*, and *one* is *three*, I could not conceive or believe it, in the natural common sense of that expression; but must suppose, that something dark or mystical was meant, which it pleased God to conceal from me, and from all the

the world. Thus, in the text, *There are three that bear record, &c.* Am I capable of knowing and defining, what union and what distinction there may be in the divine nature, which, possibly, may be hid from the angels themselves? Again, I see it plainly declared in scripture, that there is but one God; and yet, I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God, in knowing mens thoughts, in saying, *He and his Father are one*; and, *Before Abraham was, I am.* I read, that the disciples worshipped him; that Thomas said to him, *My Lord and my God*; and St. John, chap. i. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* I read likewise, that the Holy Ghost bestowed the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles; which, if rightly considered, is as great a miracle as any, that a number of illiterate men, should, of a sudden, be qualified to speak all the languages then known in the world; such as could be done by the inspiration of God alone*. From these several texts, it is plain, that

* In defending the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, perhaps it is always best to insist upon the positive evidence, as the Dean has done in this sermon: for, in every question, he who undertakes to obviate objections, must necessarily be foiled by him who puts them. By the human intellect, little more than the surface of things can be known; and therefore, speculative objections, which would puzzle an able philosopher, may be easily raised, even against those truths which admit of practical demonstration. It was once objected to a philosopher, who was explaining the laws of motion, That there could be no such thing; for,

that God commands us to believe there is an union, and there is a distinction; but, what that union, or what that distinction is, all mankind are equally ignorant, and must continue so, at least till the day of judgment, without some new revelation.

But, because I cannot conceive the nature of this union and distinction in the divine nature, am I, therefore, to reject them as absurd and impossible, as I would, if any one told me, that three men are one, and one man is three? We are told, that a man and his wife are one flesh; this I can comprehend the meaning of; yet, literally taken, it is a thing impossible. But, the apostle tells us, *We see but in part, and we know but in part*: and yet, we would comprehend all the secret ways and workings of God.

Therefore, I shall again repeat the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is positively affirmed in scripture: That God is there expressed in three different names, as Father, as Son, and as Holy Ghost; that each of these is God, and that there is but one God. But this union and distinction are a mystery, utterly unknown to mankind.

This

for, that a body must move, either in the place in which it *is*, or in the place in which it is *not*; but, both being impossible, there could be no motion. The objection the philosopher immediately removed, by walking cross the room. And, if none were to triumph in the strength of popular objections against Christianity, but those who could otherwise shew the fallacy of this against motion, the number of *moral philosophers* among us would probably be very few. *Hawkes.*

This is enough for any good Christian to believe, on this great article, without ever enquiring any farther. And this can be contrary to no man's reason, although the knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another difficulty, of great importance among those who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with several other articles of Christianity; which is, That our religion abounds in mysteries; and these they are so bold to revile as cant, imposture, and priestcraft. It is impossible for us to determine, for what reasons God thought fit to communicate some things to us in part, and leave some part a mystery: but so it is in fact, and so the holy scriptures tell us in several places. For instance, the resurrection and change of our bodies, are called mysteries by St. Paul; our Saviour's incarnation is another. The kingdom of God is called a mystery by our Saviour, to be only known to his disciples; so is faith, and the word of God, by St. Paul. I omit many others. So that, to declare against all mysteries, without distinction or exception, is to declare against the whole tenor of the New Testament.

There are two conditions that may bring a mystery under suspicion: *First*, When it is not taught and commanded in holy writ: Or, *secondly*, When the mystery turns to the advantage of those who preach it to others. Now, as to the *first*, It can never be said, that we preach myste-

ries without warrant from holy scripture; although I confess, this of the *Trinity* may have sometimes been explained by human invention, which might, perhaps, better have been spared. As to the *second*, It will not be possible to charge the Protestant priesthood with proposing any temporal advantage to themselves, by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of mysteries. Does this mystery of the *Trinity*, for instance, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, bring the least profit or power to the preachers? No; it is as great a mystery to themselves, as it is to the meanest of their hearers; and may be rather a cause of humiliation, by putting their understanding, in that point, upon a level with the most ignorant of their flock. It is true, indeed, the Roman church hath very much enriched herself, by trading in mysteries, for which they have not the least authority from scripture, and which were fitted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur; such as, *transubstantiation*, *worshipping of images*, *indulgences for sins*, *purgatory*, and *masses for the dead*, with many more. But, it is the perpetual talent of those who have ill-will to our church, or a contempt for all religion, taken up by the wickedness of their lives, to charge us with the errors and corruptions of Popery, which all Protestants have thrown off near two hundred years; whereas, those mysteries held by us, have no prospect of power, pomp, or wealth; but have been ever maintained by the universal body of
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of true believers, from the days of the apostles, and will be so to the resurrection; neither will the gates of hell prevail against them.

It may be thought, perhaps, a strange thing, that God should require us to believe mysteries, while the reason or manner of what we are to believe, is above our comprehension, and wholly concealed from us. Neither doth it appear, at first sight, that the believing, or not believing them, doth concern either the glory of God, or contribute to the goodness or wickedness of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous mistake. We see what a mighty weight is laid upon faith, both in the Old and New Testament. In the former, we read, how the faith of Abraham is praised, who could believe, that God would raise from him a great nation, at the very same time that he was commanded to sacrifice his only son, and despaired of any other issue: and this was to him a great mystery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to his disciples, or reproaching them with the want of it; and St. Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reasonable: for, faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the justice, and the mercy of God; which dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all things. So that the great excellency of faith consists in the consequence it hath upon our actions: as, if we depend upon the truth and wisdom of a man, we shall certainly be more dispos-

ed to follow his advice. Therefore, let no man think, that he can lead as good a moral life without faith, as with it; for this reason, because he who has no faith, cannot, by the strength of his own reason or endeavours, so easily resist temptations, as the other, who depends upon God's assistance in the overcoming his frailties, and is sure to be rewarded for ever in heaven, for his victory over them. *Faith*, says the apostle, *is the evidence of things not seen*. He means, that faith is a virtue, by which any thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us, although we do not see, nor can conceive it; because, by faith, we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

It is an old and true distinction, that things may be above our reason, without being contrary to it. Of this kind, are the power, the nature, and the universal presence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do those who quarrel with mysteries, know of the commonest actions of nature? The growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the smallest seed, is a mystery to the wisest among men. If an ignorant person were told, that a loadstone would draw iron at a distance, he might say, it was a thing contrary to his reason, and could not believe, before he saw it with his eyes.

The manner whereby the soul and body are united, and how they are distinguished, is wholly unaccountable to us. We see but one part,
and

and yet we know we consist of two: and this is a mystery we cannot comprehend, any more than that of the *Trinity*.

From what hath been said, it is manifest, that God did never command us to believe, nor his ministers to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to the reason he hath pleased to endue us with; but, for his own wise ends, has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing he commands; thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increase our dependence upon him.

It is highly probable, that, if God should please to reveal unto us this great mystery of the *Trinity*, or some other mysteries in our holy religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would, at the same time, think fit to bestow on us some new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at present, and are reserved till the day of resurrection to life eternal. *For now, as the apostle says, we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face.*

Thus, we see, the matter is brought to this issue; we must either believe what God directly commands us in holy scripture, or we must wholly reject the scripture, and the Christian religion, which we pretend to profess. But this, I hope, is too desperate a step for any of us to make.

I have already observed, that those who preach up the belief of the *Trinity*, or of any other mystery, cannot propose any temporal advantage to themselves by so doing. But this is not the case.

of those who oppose these doctrines. Do *they* lead better moral lives than a good Christian? Are *they* more just in their dealings? more chaste, or temperate, or charitable? Nothing at all of this; but, on the contrary, their intent is to overthrow all religion, that they may gratify their vices, without any reproach from the world, or their own conscience; and are zealous to bring over as many others as they can to their own opinions; because, it is some kind of imaginary comfort, to have a multitude on their side.

There is no miracle mentioned in holy writ, which, if it were strictly examined, is not as much contrary to common reason, and as much a mystery, as this doctrine of the *Trinity*; and therefore, we may, with equal justice, deny the truth of them all. For instance, it is against the laws of nature, that a human body should be able to walk upon the water, as St. Peter is recorded to have done; or that a dead carcase should be raised from the grave after three days, when it began to corrupt; which those who understand anatomy, will pronounce to be impossible, by the common rules of nature and reason. Yet, these miracles, and many others, are positively affirmed in the gospel; and these we must believe, or give up our holy religion to Atheists and Infidels.

I shall now make a few inferences and observations upon what hath been said.

First, It would be well, if people would not lay so much weight on their own reason, in matters.

ters of religion, as to think every thing impossible and absurd, which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right rules of reason, in the whole course of our lives? *Reason* itself, is true and just; but the *reason* of every particular man, is weak and wavering, perpetually swayed and turned by his interests, his passions, and his vices. Let any man but consider, when he hath a controversy with another, though his cause be ever so unjust, though the whole world be against him, how blinded he is, by the love of himself, to believe that right is wrong, and wrong is right, when it makes for his own advantage. Where is then the right use of his reason, which he so much boasts of, and which he would blasphemously set up to control the commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When men are tempted to deny the mysteries of religion, let them examine and search into their own hearts, whether they have not some favourite sin, which is of their party in this dispute, and which is equally contrary to other commands of God in the gospel. For, why do men love darkness rather than light? The scripture tells us, *Because their deeds are evil*; and there can be no other reason assigned. Therefore, when men are curious and inquisitive, to discover some weak sides in Christianity, and inclined to favour every thing that is offered to its disadvantage, it is plain they wish it were not true: and those wishes can proceed from nothing but an
evil

evil conscience ; because, if there be truth in our religion, their condition must be miserable*.

And therefore, *thirdly*, Men should consider, that raising difficulties concerning the mysteries in religion, cannot make them more wise, learned, or virtuous ; better neighbours, or friends, or more serviceable to their country ; but, whatever they pretend, will destroy their inward peace of mind, by perpetual doubts and fears arising in their breasts. And God forbid we should ever see the times so bad, when dangerous opinions in religion will be a means to get favour and preferment ; although, even in such a case, it would be an ill traffic, to gain the world, and lose our own souls. So that, upon the whole, it will be impossible to find any real use towards a virtuous or happy life, by denying the mysteries of the gospel.

Fourthly, Those strong unbelievers, who expect that all mysteries should be squared and fitted to their own reason, might have somewhat to say for themselves, if they could satisfy the general reason of mankind in their opinions. But herein they are miserably defective, absurd, and ridiculous. They strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel : they can believe, that the world was made
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* It is an high encomium on reformed Christianity, and a strong argument of its superior excellence, that a corrupt life always inclines men to wish it were not true. It does not appear, that Mahometans and Papists wish their religion to be false, in proportion as their lives are immoral ; and it is said of Dryden, that, not being able to fortify himself in infidelity, he died a Papist. *Hawkes*.

by chance; that God doth not concern himself with things below, will neither punish vice, nor reward virtue; that religion was invented by cunning men, to keep the world in awe; with many other opinions equally false and detestable; against the common light of nature, as well as reason; against the universal sentiments of all civilized nations, and offensive to the ears even of a sober Heathen.

Lastly, Since the world abounds with pestilent books, particularly written against this doctrine of the *Trinity*, it is fit to inform you, that the authors of them proceed wholly upon a mistake. They would shew how impossible it is, that *three* can be *one*, and *one* can be *three*: whereas, the scripture saith no such thing, at least in that manner they would make it; but only that there is some kind of unity and distinction in the divine nature, which mankind cannot possibly comprehend. Thus, the whole doctrine is short and plain, and in itself incapable of any controversy; since God himself hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner. And therefore, many divines, who thought fit to answer those wicked books, have been mistaken too, by answering fools in their folly, and endeavouring to explain a mystery, which God intended to keep secret from us. And as I would exhort all men to avoid reading those wicked books written against this doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious; so I think they may omit the answers, as unnecessary.

fary. This, I confess, will probably affect but few or none among the generality of our congregations, who do not much trouble themselves with books, at least of this kind. However, many, who do not read themselves, are seduced by others that do; and thus become unbelievers upon trust, and at second hand; and this is too frequent a case: for which reason, I have endeavoured to put this doctrine upon a short and sure foot, levelled to the meanest understanding; by which we may, as the apostle directs, be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear.

And thus I have done with my subject; which probably I should not have chosen, if I had not been invited to it by the occasion of this season, appointed on purpose to celebrate the mysteries of the *Trinity*, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, wherein we pray to be kept stedfast in this faith; and what this faith is, I have shewn you in the plainest manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no more than this: God commands us, by our dependence upon his truth and his holy word, to believe a fact that we do not understand. And this is no more, than what we do every day in the works of nature, upon the credit of men of learning. Without faith, we can do no works acceptable to God; for if they proceed from any other principle, they will not advance our salvation; and this faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire, without giving up our senses, or
contradicting

contradicting our reason. May God, of his infinite mercy, inspire us with true faith in every article and mystery of our holy religion, so as to dispose us to do what is pleasing in his sight: and this we pray through Jesus Christ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the mysterious incomprehensible ONE GOD, be all honour and glory, now and for ever more. *Amen.*

* * This is one of the best sermons in its kind. Dr. Swift seems not to have made such a plan his voluntary choice, nor to have built, *suo ex motu*, upon such a basis; but he has completed the superstructure in a most masterly manner. The materials answer the dignity of the edifice; and the artificer may assume great honour, upon the completion of so noble, so simple, and so useful a pile. The mysterious parts of our religion are apt to have dreadful effects upon weak minds. The general comments upon the sacred writings, and the several sermons upon the most abstruse points of scripture, are too often composed in the gloomy style. Damnation, eternal damnation, is placed with all its horror before our eyes; and we are so terrified at the prospect, that fear makes us imagine we can comprehend mysteries, which, on this side of the grave, must be for ever denied to our limited understandings. Swift has taken the safest, and the properest method of expounding these *arcana*. He advances every position that can be established upon so incomprehensible a subject. He sustains the belief, avows the doctrine, and adapts the matter of faith as well as possible to the human capacity. His manner of reasoning is masterly, and his arguments are nervous, particularly, where he says, "It is highly probable, that if God should please to reveal unto us this great mystery of the Trinity, or some other mysteries in our holy religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would, at the same time, think fit to bestow on us some new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at present, and are reserved till the day of resurrection to life eternal." p. 137. *Orrery.*

S E R M O N II.
ON MUTUAL SUBJECTION.

I St. PETER v. 5.

—*Yea, all of you be subject one to another.*

THE apostle having, in many parts of this epistle, given directions to Christians concerning the duty of subjection, or obedience to superiors; in the several instances of the subject to the prince, the child to his parent, the servant to his master, the wife to her husband, and the younger to the elder; doth here, in the words of my text, sum up the whole, by advancing a point of doctrine, which at first may appear a little extraordinary: *Yea, all of you, saith he, be subject one to another.* For it should seem, that two persons cannot properly be said to be subject to each other, and that subjection is only due from inferiors to those above them: yet St. Paul hath several passages to the same purpose. For he exhorts the Romans, *in honour to prefer one another*; ‡ and the Philippians, that in *lowliness of mind they should let each esteem other better than themselves*; † and the Ephesians, that they should *submit themselves one to another in the fear of the Lord.* || Here we find these two great apostles recommending to all Christians, this duty of mutual subjection. For we may observe by St. Peter, that
having

‡ Rom. xii. 10.

† Phil. ii. 3.

|| Eph. v. 21.

having mentioned the several relations which men bear to each other, as governor and subject, master and servant, and the rest which I have already repeated, he makes no exception; but sums up the whole, with commanding *all to be subject one to another*. From whence we may conclude, that this subjection due from all men to all men, is something more than the compliment of course, when our betters are pleased to tell us they are our humble servants, but understand us to be their slaves.

I know very well, that some of those who explain this text, apply it to humility, to the duties of charity, to private exhortations, and to bearing with each other's infirmities; and it is probable, the apostle may have had a regard to all these. But, however, many learned men agree, that there is something more understood; and so the words, in their plain natural meaning, must import; as you will observe yourselves, if you read them with the beginning of the verse, which is thus: *Likewise ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder: yea, all of you be subject one to another*. So that, upon the whole, there must be some kind of subjection due from every man to every man, which cannot be made void by any power, pre-eminence, or authority whatsoever. Now, what sort of subjection this is, and how it ought to be paid, shall be the subject of my present discourse.

As God hath contrived all the works of nature to be useful, and, in some manner, a support to

each other, by which the whole frame of the world, under his Providence, is preserved and kept up; so, among mankind, our particular stations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our power reacheth, towards the good of the whole community. And he who doth not perform that part assigned him, towards advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only an useless, but a very mischievous member of the public; because he takes his share of the profit, and yet leaves his share of the burden to be borne by others, which is the true principal cause of most miseries and misfortunes in life. For a wise man who does not assist with his counsels, a great man with his protection, a rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man with his labour, are perfect nuisances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the sight of God, than another; otherwise, he would be a respecter of persons, which, he assures us, he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are usually more defective in both, than thousands of their subjects. They depend for every necessary of life upon the meanest of their people: besides, obedience and subjection

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were never enjoined by God, to humour the passions, lusts, and vanities of those who demand them from us; but we are commanded to obey our governors, because disobedience would breed seditions in the state. Thus, servants are directed to obey their masters, children their parents, and wives their husbands; not from any respect of persons in God, but because, otherwise, there would be nothing but confusion in private families. This matter will be clearly explained, by considering the comparison which St. Paul makes between the church of Christ, and the body of man: for the same resemblance will hold, not only to families and kingdoms, but to the whole corporation of mankind. *The eye, saith he, cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it* *. The case is directly the same among mankind. The prince cannot say to the merchant, I have no need of thee; nor the merchant to the labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more, those members which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. For the poor are generally more necessary members of the commonwealth than the rich: which clearly shews, that God never intended such possessions for the

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* I Cor. xiii. 21, 22, 26.

fake and service of those to whom he lends them; but because he hath assigned every man his particular station to be useful in life, and this for the reason given by the apostle, *that there may be no schism in the body.*

From hence may partly be gathered, the nature of that subjection which we all owe to one another. God Almighty hath been pleased to put us into an imperfect state, where we have perpetual occasion of each other's assistance. There is none so low, as not to be in a capacity of assisting the highest; nor so high, as not to want the assistance of the lowest.

It plainly appears, from what hath been said, that no one human creature is more worthy than another in the sight of God, farther than according to the goodness or holiness of their lives; and that power, wealth, and the like outward advantages, are so far from being the marks of God's approving or preferring those on whom they are bestowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleased to suffer them to be almost ingrossed by those who have least title to his favour. Now, according to this equality wherein God hath placed all mankind with relation to himself, you will observe, that, in all the relations between man and man, there is a mutual dependence, whereby the one cannot subsist without the other. Thus, no man can be a prince without subjects, nor a master without servants, nor a father without children. And this both explains and confirms the

the doctrine of the text: for, where there is a mutual dependence, there must be a mutual duty, and consequently a mutual subjection. For instance, the subject must obey his prince, because God commands it, human laws require it, and the safety of the public makes it necessary. For the same reasons, we must obey all that are in authority, and submit ourselves, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward, whether they rule according to our liking or no. On the other side, in those countries that pretend to freedom, princes are subject to those laws which their people have chosen; they are bound to protect their subjects in liberty, property, and religion; to receive their petitions, and redress their grievances: so that the best prince, is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation: not only a servant to the public in general, but, in some sort, to every man in it. In the like manner, a servant owes obedience, and diligence, and faithfulness, to his master; from whom, at the same time, he hath a just demand for protection, and maintenance, and gentle treatment. Nay, even the poor beggar hath a just demand of an alms from the rich man; who is guilty of fraud, injustice, and oppression, if he does not afford relief according to his abilities.

But this subjection we all owe one to another, is no where more necessary, than in the common conversations of life; for, without it, there could be no society among men. If the learned would

not sometimes submit to the ignorant, the wise to the simple, the gentle to the froward, the old to the weakneses of the young, there would be nothing but everlasting variance in the world. This our Saviour himself confirmed by his own example; for he appeared in the form of a servant, and washed his disciples' feet, adding those memorable words, *Ye call me Lord and Master: and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, wash your feet, how much more ought ye to wash one another's feet?* Under which expression, of washing the feet, is included all that subjection, assistance, love, and duty, which every good Christian ought to pay his brother, in whatever station God hath placed him. For the greatest prince and the meanest slave, are not, by infinite degrees, so distant, as our Saviour and those disciples, whose feet he vouchsafed to wash.

And, although this doctrine of subjecting ourselves to one another, may seem to grate upon the pride and vanity of mankind, and may therefore be hard to be digested by those who value themselves upon their greatness, or their wealth; yet it is really no more than what most men practise upon other occasions. For, if our neighbour, who is our inferior, comes to see us, we rise to receive him, we place him above us, and respect him, as if he were better than ourselves; and this is thought both decent and necessary, and is usually called *good manners*. Now, the duty required by the apostle, is, only, that we should enlarge our minds, and that,

that, what we thus practise in the common course of life, we should imitate in all our actions and proceedings whatsoever; since our Saviour tells us, that every man is our neighbour, and since we are so ready, in the point of civility, to yield to others in our own houses, where only we have any title to govern.

Having thus shewn you, what sort of subjection it is, which all men owe one to another, and in what manner it ought to be paid; I shall now draw some observations from what hath been said.

And, *first*, A thorough practice of this duty of subjecting ourselves to the wants and infirmities of each other, would utterly extinguish in us the vice of pride.

For, if God has pleased to intrust me with a talent, not for my own sake, but for the service of others, and, at the same time, hath left me full of wants and necessities, which others must supply; I can then have no cause to set any extraordinary value upon myself, or to despise my brother, because he hath not the same talents which were lent to me. His being may probably be as useful to the public as mine; and, therefore, by the rules of right reason, I am in no sort preferable to him.

Secondly, It is very manifest, from what has been said, that no man ought to look upon the advantages of life, such as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a trust

trust which God hath deposited with him, to be employed for the use of his brethren: and God will certainly punish the breach of that trust, though the laws of man will not, or rather indeed cannot; because the trust was conferred only by God, who has not left it to any power on earth to decide infallibly, whether a man makes a good use of his talents or no, or to punish him where he fails. And, therefore, God seems to have more particularly taken this matter into his own hands, and will, most certainly, reward or punish us, in proportion to our good or ill performance in it. Now, although the advantages which one man possesseth more than another, may, in some sense, be called his property, with respect to other men; yet, with respect to God, they are, as I said, only a trust; which will plainly appear from hence: If a man does not use those advantages to the good of the public, or the benefit of his neighbour, it is certain, he doth not deserve them, and, consequently, that God never intended them for a blessing to him; and, on the other side, whoever does employ his talents as he ought, will find, by his own experience, that they were chiefly lent him for the service of others; for, to the service of others he will certainly employ them.

Thirdly, If we could all be brought to practise this duty of subjecting ourselves to each other, it would very much contribute to the general happiness of mankind. For this would root out en-

vy and malice from the heart of man; because you cannot envy your neighbour's strength, if he make use of it to defend your life, or carry your burden; you cannot envy his wisdom, if he gives you good counsel; nor his riches, if he supplies you in your wants; nor his greatness, if he employs it to your protection. The miseries of life are not properly owing to the unequal distribution of things; but God Almighty, the great King of Heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth, who, although, perhaps, intending well themselves, have often most abominable ministers and stewards; and those generally the vilest, to whom they intrust the most talents. But here is the difference, that the princes of this world see by other mens eyes; but God sees all things: and, therefore, whenever he permits his blessings to be dealt among those who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude, that he intends them only as a punishment to an evil world, as well as to the owners. It were well, if those would consider this, whose riches serve them only as a spur to avarice, or as an instrument to their lusts; whose wisdom is only of this world, to put false colours upon things, to call good evil, and evil good, against the conviction of their own consciences; and, lastly, who employ their power and favour in acts of oppression or injustice, in misrepresenting persons and things, or in countenancing the wicked, to the ruin of the innocent.

Fourthly, The practice of this duty, of being subject to one another, would make us rest contented

tented in the several stations of life wherein God hath thought fit to place us; because it would, in the best and easiest manner, bring us back, as it were, to that early state of the gospel, when Christians had all things in common. For, if the poor found the rich disposed to supply their wants; if the ignorant found the wise ready to instruct and direct them; or if the weak might always find protection from the mighty; they could, none of them, with the least pretence of justice, lament their own condition.

From all that hath been hitherto said, it appears, that great abilities of any sort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the owners of them greater and more painful servants to their neighbour and the public. However, we are by no means to conclude from hence, that they are not really blessings, when they are in the hands of good men. For, first, what can be a greater honour, than to be chosen one of the stewards and dispensers of God's bounty to mankind? What is there that can give a generous spirit more pleasure and complacency of mind, than to consider, that he is an instrument of doing much good? that great numbers owe to him, under God, their subsistence, their safety, their health, and the good conduct of their lives? The wickedest man upon earth takes a pleasure in doing good to those he loves; and, therefore, surely, a good Christian, who obeys our Saviour's command, of loving all men, cannot but take delight

in doing good, even to his enemies. God, who gives all things to all men, can receive nothing from any; and those among men who do the most good, and receive the fewest returns, do most resemble their Creator; for which reason, St. Paul delivers it as a saying of our Saviour, that *it is more blessed to give, than to receive*. By this rule, what must become of those things which the world values as the greatest blessings, riches, power, and the like, when our Saviour plainly determines, that the best way to make them blessings, is, to part with them? Therefore, although the advantages which one man hath over another, may be called blessings, yet they are by no means so, in the sense the world usually understands. Thus, for example, great riches are no blessing in themselves; because the poor man, with the common necessities of life, enjoys more health, and has fewer cares, without them. How then do they become blessings? No otherwise, than by being employed in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, rewarding worthy men, and, in short, doing acts of charity and generosity. Thus, likewise, power is no blessing in itself, because private men bear less envy, and trouble, and anguish, without it. But, when it is employed to protect the innocent, to relieve the oppressed, and to punish the oppressor, then it becomes a great blessing. And so, lastly, even great wisdom, is, in the opinion of Solomon, not a blessing in itself; for, *in much wisdom is much sorrow*; and
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men of common understandings, if they serve God, and mind their callings, make fewer mistakes in the conduct of life, than those who have better heads. And yet, wisdom is a mighty blessing, when it is applied to good purposes, to instruct the ignorant, to be a faithful counsellor, either in public or private, to be a director to youth, and to many other ends, needless here to mention.

To conclude: God sent us into the world to obey his commands, by doing as much good as our abilities will reach, and as little evil as our many infirmities will permit. Some he hath only trusted with one talent, some with five, and some with ten. No man is without his talent; and he that is faithful or negligent in a little, shall be rewarded or punished, as well as he that hath been so in a great deal.

Consider what hath been said, &c.

* * * This sermon is upon mutual subjection, and that duty which is owing from one man to another. A clearer style, or a discourse more properly adapted to a public audience, can scarce be framed. Every paragraph is simple, nervous, and intelligible. The threads of each argument are closely connected, and logically pursued. But in places where the Dean has the least opportunity to introduce political maxims, or to dart an arrow at the conduct of princes, he never fails to indulge himself in his usual manner of thinking; as will appear from the following quotation: "A wise man," says Dr. Swift, "who does not
 "assist with his counsels, a great man with his protection, a
 "rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man with
 "his labour, are perfect nuisances in a commonwealth. Nei-
 "ther is any condition of life more honourable, in the sight of
 "God,

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" God than another; otherwise, he would be a respecter of persons, which, he assures us, he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are usually more defective in both, than thousands of their subjects," p. 146. Again, in the same strain, " The best prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation; not only a servant to the public in general, but in some sort to every man in it," p. 149. But the most extraordinary passage, is a covert stroke at the highest order of his brethren the clergy. It runs thus: " The miseries of life are not properly owing to the unequal distribution of things; but God Almighty, the great King of heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth; who, although, perhaps, intending well themselves, have often most abominable ministers and stewards, and those generally the vilest, to whom they entrust the most talents," p. 153. Dark as it is, this paragraph requires no explanation. The author's natural turn of mind breaks forth upon all occasions, and the politician frequently outweighs the divine. If the dictates of such a spirit were capable of forcing their way from the pulpit, what a glorious, what a consistent figure must Swift have made in the rostrum at Rome, or in one of the porticos at Athens? *Orrery.*

S E R M O N III.

ON THE TESTIMONY OF CONSCIENCE.

2 COR. i. 12. part of it.

———*For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience.*

THERE is no word more frequently in the mouths of men, than that of *conscience*; and the meaning of it is, in some measure, generally

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nerally understood. However, because it is likewise a word extremely abused by many people, who apply other meanings to it, which God Almighty never intended; I shall explain it to you in the clearest manner I am able. The word *conscience*, properly signifies that knowledge which a man hath within himself, of his own thoughts and actions. And because, if a man judgeth fairly of his own actions, by comparing them with the law of God, his mind will either approve or condemn him, according as he hath done good or evil; therefore, this knowledge, or conscience, may properly be called both an accuser and a judge. So that, whenever our conscience accuseth us, we are certainly guilty: but we are not always innocent, when it doth not accuse us; for very often, through the hardness of our hearts, or the fondness and favour we bear to ourselves, or through ignorance or neglect, we do not suffer our conscience to take any cognisance of several sins we commit. There is another office likewise belonging to conscience, which is that of being our director and guide; and the wrong use of this hath been the occasion of more evils under the sun, than almost all other causes put together. For, as conscience is nothing else but the knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing; so, it can guide us no further than that knowledge reacheth; and therefore, God hath placed conscience in us, to be our director only in those actions which scripture and reason plainly tell us to be good or evil. But, in cases

too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there, conscience is not concerned; because it cannot advise in what it doth not understand, nor decide where it is itself in doubt: but, by God's great mercy, those difficult points are never of absolute necessity to our salvation. There is likewise another evil, that men often say, a thing is against their conscience, when really it is not. For instance, ask any of those who differ from the worship established, why they do not come to church? they will say, they dislike the ceremonies, the prayers, the habits, and the like: and therefore, it goes against their conscience. But they are mistaken; their teacher hath put those words into their mouths; for a man's conscience can go no higher than his knowledge; and therefore, till he has thoroughly examined, by scripture, and the practice of the ancient church, whether those points are blameable or no, his conscience cannot possibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewise arisen those mistakes about what is usually called *liberty of conscience*; which, properly speaking, is no more than a liberty of knowing our own thoughts; which liberty no one can take from us. But those words have obtained quite different meanings. Liberty of conscience is now-a-days not only understood to be the liberty of believing what men please, but also of endeavouring to propagate that belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the faith which the laws have already established, and to be rewarded by the public for

those wicked endeavours: and this is the liberty of conscience which the Fanatics are now, openly in the face of the world, endeavouring at with their utmost application. At the same time, it cannot but be observed, that those very persons, who, under pretence of a public spirit, and tenderness towards their Christian brethren, are so zealous for such a liberty of conscience as this, are, of all others, the least tender to those who differ from them in the smallest point relating to government; and I wish I could not say, that the majesty of the living God may be offended with more security than the memory of a dead prince. But the wisdom of the world, at present, seems to agree with that of the Heathen emperor, who said, If the gods were offended, it was their own concern, and they were able to vindicate themselves.

But although conscience hath been abused to those wicked purposes which I have already related, yet a due regard to the directions it plainly gives us, as well as to its accusations, reproaches, and advices, would be of the greatest use to mankind, both for their present welfare and future happiness.

Therefore my discourse, at this time, shall be directed to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm foundation for virtue, but on a conscience which is guided by religion.

In order to this, I shall first shew you the weakness and uncertainty of two false principles, which many

many people set up in the place of conscience, for a guide to their actions.

The first of these principles, is what the world usually calls *moral honesty*. There are some people, who appear very indifferent as to religion, and yet have the repute of being just and fair in their dealings; and these are generally known by the character of good moral men. But now, if you look into the grounds and the motives of such a man's actions, you shall find them to be no other than his own ease and interest. For example, you trust a moral man with your money, in the way of trade; you trust another with the defence of your cause at law; and, perhaps, they both deal justly with you. Why? not from any regard they have for justice, but because their fortune depends upon their credit; and a stain of open public dishonesty, must be to their disadvantage. But, let it consist with such a man's interest and safety to wrong you, and then it will be impossible you can have any hold upon him; because there is nothing left to give him a check, or to put in the balance against his profit. For, if he hath nothing to govern himself by, but the opinion of the world; as long as he can conceal his injustice from the world, he thinks he is safe.

Besides, it is found, by experience, that those men who set up for morality, without regard to religion, are generally virtuous but in part: they will be just in their dealings between man and man; but, if they find themselves disposed to

pride, lust, intemperance, or avarice, they do not think their morality concerned, to check them in any of these vices; because it is the great rule of such men, that they may lawfully follow the dictates of nature, wherever their safety, health, and fortune are not injured. So that, upon the whole, there is hardly one vice which a mere moral man may not, upon some occasions, allow himself to practise.

The other false principle, which some men set up in the place of conscience, to be their director in life, is what those, who pretend to it, call *honour*.

This word is often made the sanction of an oath; it is reckoned a great commendation to be a man of strict honour; and it is commonly understood, that a man of honour can never be guilty of a base action. This is usually the style of military men, of persons with titles, and of others who pretend to birth and quality. It is true, indeed, that, in ancient times, it was universally understood, that honour was the reward of virtue; but, if such honour as is now-a-days going, will not permit a man to do a base action, it must be allowed, there are very few such things as base actions in nature. No man of honour, as that word is usually understood, did ever pretend, that his honour obliged him to be chaste or temperate, to pay his creditors, to be useful to his country, to do good to mankind, to endeavour to be wise or learned, to regard his word, his promise, or his oath: or, if he hath any of these virtues,

virtues, they were never learned in the catechism of honour; which contains but two precepts; the punctual payment of debts contracted at play, and the right understanding the several degrees of an affront, in order to revenge it by the death of an adversary.

But, suppose this principle of honour, which some men so much boast of, did really produce more virtues than it ever pretended to; yet, since the very being of that honour depended upon the breath, the opinion, or the fancy of the people, the virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain duration. For example, suppose a man, from a principle of honour, should resolve to be just, or chaste, or temperate, and yet the censuring world should take a humour of refusing him those characters, he would then think the obligation at an end. Or, on the other side, if he thought he could gain honour by the falsest and vilest action, (which is a case that very often happens,) he would then make no scruple to perform it. And God knows, it would be an unhappy state, to have the religion, the liberty, or the property of a people, lodged in such hands; which, however, hath been too often the case.

What I have said upon this principle of honour, may perhaps be thought of small concernment to most of you who are my hearers: however, a caution was not altogether unnecessary; since there is nothing by which, not only the vulgar, but the honest tradesman, hath been so much deceived,

deceived, as this infamous pretence to honour in too many of their betters.

Having thus shewn you the weakness and uncertainty of those principles which some men set up in the place of conscience, to direct them in their actions; I shall now endeavour to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm foundation of virtue, but in a conscience directed by the principles of religion.

There is no way of judging how far we may depend upon the actions of men, otherwise than by knowing the motives, and grounds, and causes of them; and if the motives of our actions be not resolved and determined into the law of God, they will be precarious and uncertain, and liable to perpetual changes. I will shew you what I mean, by an example. Suppose a man thinks it his duty to obey his parents, because reason tells him so, because he is obliged by gratitude, and because the laws of his country command him to do so: if he stops here, his parents can have no lasting security; for an occasion may happen, wherein it may be extremely his interest to be disobedient, and where the laws of the land can lay no hold upon him: therefore, before such a man can safely be trusted, he must proceed farther, and consider, that his reason is the gift of God; that God commanded him to be obedient to the laws, and did, moreover, in a particular manner, enjoin him to be dutiful to his parents; after which, if he lays due weight upon those considerations, he will probably continue in his duty

duty to the end of his life; because no earthly interest can ever come in competition to balance the danger of offending his Creator, or the happiness of pleasing him. And of all this his conscience will certainly inform him, if he hath any regard to religion.

Secondly, Fear and hope are the two greatest natural motives of all mens actions. But neither of these passions will ever put us in the way of virtue, unless they be directed by conscience. For, although virtuous men do sometimes accidentally make their way to preferment, yet the world is so corrupted, that no man can reasonably hope to be rewarded in it, merely upon account of his virtue. And consequently, the fear of punishment in this life, will preserve men from very few vices; since some of the blackest and basest do often prove the surest steps to favour; such as, ingratitude, hypocrisy, treachery, malice, subornation, atheism, and many more, which human laws do little concern themselves about. But, when conscience placeth before us the hopes of everlasting happiness, and the fears of everlasting misery, as the reward and punishment of our good or evil actions, our reason can find no way to avoid the force of such an argument, otherwise than by running into infidelity.

Lastly, Conscience will direct us to love God, and to put our whole trust and confidence in him. Our love of God will inspire us with a detestation for sin, as what is of all things most contrary to his divine nature; and if we have an
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entire confidence in him; *that* will enable us to subdue and despise all the allurements of the world.

It may here be objected, If conscience be so sure a director to us Christians in the conduct of our lives, how comes it to pass, that the ancient Heathens, who had no other lights but those of nature and reason, should so far exceed us in all manner of virtue, as plainly appears by many examples they have left on record ?

To which it may be answered : First, those Heathens were extremely strict and exact in the education of their children ; whereas, among us, this care is so much laid aside, that the more God has blessed any man with estate or quality, just so much the less in proportion is the care he takes in the education of his children, and particularly of that child which is to inherit his fortune ; of which, the effects are visible enough among the great ones of the world. Again, those Heathens did, in a particular manner, instil the principle into their children, of loving their country ; which is so far otherwise, now-a-days, that of the several parties among us, there is none of them that seem to have so much as heard whether there be such a virtue in the world ; as plainly appears by their practices, and especially when they are placed in those stations where they can only have opportunity of shewing it. Lastly, the most considerable among the Heathens did generally believe rewards and punishments in a life to come ; which is the great principle for conscience to
work

work upon: whereas, too many of those who would be thought the most considerable among us, do, both by their practices and their discourses, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing at all of the matter.

Wherefore, since it hath manifestly appeared, that a religious conscience is the only true, solid foundation, upon which virtue can be built, give me leave, before I conclude, to let you see how necessary such a conscience is, to conduct us in every station and condition of our lives.

That a religious conscience is necessary in any station, is confessed even by those who tell us, that all religion was invented by cunning men, in order to keep the world in awe. For if religion, by the confession of its adversaries, be necessary toward the well-governing of mankind; then every wise man in power will be sure, not only to chuse out, for every station under him, such persons as are most likely to be kept in awe by religion, but likewise, to carry some appearance of it himself, or else he is a very weak politician. And accordingly, in any country, where great persons affect to be open despisers of religion, their counsels will be found at last to be fully as destructive to the state as to the church.

It was the advice of Jethro to his son-in-law Moses, to *provide able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness*, and to place such over the people: and Moses, who was as wise a statesman, at least, as any in this age, thought fit to follow that advice. Great abilities,

ties, without the fear of God, are most dangerous instruments, when they are trusted with power. The laws of man have thought fit, that those who are called to any office of trust, should be bound by an oath to the faithful discharge of it : but an oath is an appeal to God, and therefore, can have no influence, except upon those who believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those that seek him, and a punisher of those who disobey him : and, therefore, we see the laws themselves are forced to have recourse to conscience in these cases ; because their penalties cannot reach the arts of cunning men, who can find ways to be guilty of a thousand injustices, without being discovered, or at least without being punished. And the reason why we find so many frauds, abuses, and corruptions, where any trust is conferred, can be no other, than that there is so little conscience and religion left in the world ; or, at least, that men, in their choice of instruments, have private ends in view, which are very different from the service of the public. Besides, it is certain, that men who profess to have no religion, are full as zealous to bring over profelytes, as any Papist or Fanatic can be. And therefore, if those who are in station high enough to be of influence or example to others ; if those (I say) openly profess a contempt or disbelief of religion, they will be sure to make all their dependents of their own principles ; and what security can the public expect from such persons, whenever their interests or their lusts come into competition with their duty ?

duty? It is very possible for a man who hath the appearance of religion, and is a great pretender to conscience, to be wicked and a hypocrite; but it is impossible for a man who openly declares against religion, to give any reasonable security that he will not be false, and cruel, and corrupt, whenever a temptation offers, which he values more than he does the power wherewith he was trusted. And if such a man doth not betray his cause and his master, it is only because the temptation was not properly offered, or the profit was too small, or the danger too great. And hence it is, that we find so little truth or justice among us, because there are so very few, who, either in the service of the public, or in common dealings with each other, do ever look farther than their own advantage, and how to guard themselves against the laws of the country; which a man may do by favour, by secrecy, or by cunning, though he breaks almost every law of God.

Therefore, to conclude: It plainly appears, that unless men are guided by the advice and judgment of conscience, founded on religion, they can give no security that they will be either good subjects, faithful servants of the public, or honest in their mutual dealings; since there is no other tie, through which the pride, or lust, or avarice, or ambition of mankind, will not certainly break, one time or other.

Consider what has been said, &c.

* * In this moral-essay, (for I can scarce call it a sermon) the author inserts some very striking observations upon such false notions

tions of honour, as are too prevalent in the world. [Here the particular passage is quoted, beginning thus, "The other false principle, which some men set up in the place of conscience," &c. p. 162. l. 10. and ending thus, "in order to revenge it by the death of an adversary," p. 163. l. 6.]—But you must be weary of quotations: and, in excuse of those already made, I can only offer, that in comments upon original authors, quotations are often the best, and perhaps the only explanations that can fully answer the end proposed. I mean, that the original spirit is so volatile, as not to admit of the least transfusion. In ordinary compositions, the essence may be extracted, and the subtlest parts distilled: but Swift's sermons appeared a chymical preparation of so extraordinary and penetrating a nature, that I was resolved to send you as much of the ethereal spirit as might be safely conveyed by the post. ORRERY.

S E R M O N IV.

ON BROTHERLY LOVE.*

HEB. xiii. 1.

Let brotherly love continue.

IN the early times of the gospel, the Christians were very much distinguished from all other bodies of men, by the great and constant love they bore to each other; which, although it was done in obedience to the frequent injunctions of our Saviour and his apostles, yet, I confess, there seemeth to have been likewise a natural reason, that very much promoted it. For the Christians then were few and scattered, living under persecution by the Heathens round about them, in whose hands was all the civil and military power; and

* This sermon is not in the first Dublin edition.

and there is nothing so apt to unite the minds and hearts of men, or to beget love and tenderness, as a general distress. The first dissensions between Christians, took their beginning from the errors and heresies that arose among them; many of those heresies, sometimes extinguished, and sometimes reviving, or succeeded by others, remain to this day; and, having been made instruments to the pride, avarice, or ambition of ill-designing men, by extinguishing brotherly love, have been the cause of infinite calamities, as well as corruptions of faith and manners, in the Christian world.

The last legacy of Christ, was peace and mutual love; but then he foretold, that he came to send a sword upon the earth. The primitive Christians accepted the legacy; and their successors, down to the present age, have been largely fulfilling his prophecy. But whatever the practice of mankind hath been, or still continues, there is no duty more incumbent upon those who profess the gospel, than that of brotherly love; which, whoever could restore in any degree among men, would be an instrument of more good to human society, than ever was, or will be done by all the statesmen and politicians in the world.

It is upon this subject of brotherly love, that I intend to discourse at present; and the method I observe, shall be as follows.

1. I will inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

P 2

2. I will

2. I will lay open the sad effects and consequences which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

3. I will use some motives and exhortations that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love, and continue in it.

I. I shall inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

This nation of ours, hath, for an hundred years past, been infested by two enemies, the Papists and Fanatics; who, each in their turns, filled it with blood and slaughter, and, for a time, destroyed both the church and government. The memory of these events, hath put all true Protestants equally upon their guard against both these adversaries; who, by consequence, do equally hate us. The Fanatics revile us, as too nearly approaching to Popery; and the Papists condemn us, as bordering too much on Fanaticism. The Papists, God be praised, are, by the wisdom of our laws, put out of all visible possibility of hurting us; besides, their religion is so generally abhorred, that they have no advocates or abettors among protestants to assist them. But the Fanatics are to be considered in another light; they have had, of late years, the power, the luck, or the cunning, to divide us among ourselves; they have endeavoured to represent all those who have been so bold as to oppose their errors and designs, under the character of persons disaffected to the government; and they have so far succeeded,

ed, that, now-a-days, if a clergyman happens to preach with any zeal and vehemence against the sin or danger of schism, there will not want too many in his congregation ready enough to censure him, as hot and high-flying, an inflamer of mens minds, an enemy to moderation, and disloyal to his prince. This hath produced a formed and settled division between those who profess the same doctrine and discipline; while they who call themselves moderate, are forced to widen their bottom, by sacrificing their principles and their brethren to the encroachments and insolence of dissenters; who are therefore answerable, as a principal cause of all that hatred and animosity now reigning among us.

Another cause of the great want of brotherly love, is the weakness and folly of too many among you of the lower sort, who are made the tools and instruments of your betters, to work their designs, wherein you have no concern. Your numbers make you of use; and cunning men take the advantage, by putting words into your mouths which you do not understand; then they fix good or ill characters to those words, as it best serves their purposes; and thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what or why; you often suspect your best friends and nearest neighbours, even your teacher himself, without any reason, if your leaders once taught you to call him by a name, which they tell you signifieth some very bad thing.

A third cause of our great want of brotherly
P 3 love,

dove, seemeth to be, that this duty is not so often insisted on from the pulpit, as it ought to be, in such times as these: on the contrary, it is to be doubted, whether doctrines are not sometimes delivered by an ungoverned zeal, a desire to be distinguished, or a view of interest, which produce quite different effects; when, upon occasions set apart to return thanks to God for some public blessing, the time is employed in stirring up one part of the congregation against the other, by representations of things and persons, which God in his mercy forgive those who are guilty of.

The last cause I shall mention of the want of brotherly love, is that unhappy disposition towards politics among the trading people, which hath been industriously instilled into them. In former times, the middle and lower sort of mankind seldom gained or lost by the factions of the kingdom; and therefore, were little concerned in them, further than as matter of talk and amusement: but now, the meanest dealer will expect to turn the penny by the merits of his party. He can represent his neighbour as a man of dangerous principle; can bring a railing accusation against him, perhaps a criminal one; and so rob him of his livelihood, and find his own account by that, much more than if he had disparaged his neighbour's goods, or defamed him as a cheat. For so it happens, that instead of inquiring into the skill or honesty of those kinds of people, the manner is now to inquire into their party, and to reject or encourage them accordingly; which proceeding,

proceeding, hath made our people, in general, such able politicians, that all the artifice, flattery, dissimulation, diligence, and dexterity, in undermining each other, which the satirical wit of men hath charged upon courts; together with all the rage and violence, cruelty and injustice, which have been ever imputed to public assemblies; are with us (so polite are we grown) to be seen among our meanest traders and artificers in the greatest perfection. All which, as it may be matter of some humiliation to the wise and mighty of this world, so the effects thereof may, perhaps, in time, prove very different from what, I hope in charity, were ever foreseen or intended.

II. I will therefore now, in the second place, lay open some of the sad effects and consequences which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

And the first ill consequence is, that our want of brotherly love hath almost driven out all sense of religion from among us; which cannot well be otherwise: for since our Saviour laid so much weight upon his disciples loving one another, that he gave it among his last instructions; and since the primitive Christians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the faith, by the strict observance of that instruction; it must follow, that, in proportion as brotherly love declineth, Christianity will do so too. The little religion there is in the world, hath been observed to reside chiefly among the middle and lower sort of people,

people, who are neither tempted to pride and luxury by great riches, nor to desperate courses by extreme poverty: and truly I, upon that account, have thought it a happiness, that those who are under my immediate care are generally of that condition. But where party hath once made entrance, with all its consequences, of hatred, envy, partiality, and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any state or degree of life whatsoever. For if the great men of the world have been censured in all ages for mingling too little religion with their politics, what a havock of principles must they needs make in unlearned and irregular heads? of which, indeed, the effects are already too visible and melancholy all over the kingdom.

Another ill consequence, from our want of brotherly love, is, that it increaseth the insolence of the Fanatics. And this partly ariseth from a mistaken meaning of the word *moderation*; a word which hath been much abused, and handed about for several years past. There are too many people indifferent enough to all religion; there are many others who dislike the clergy, and would have them live in poverty and dependence. Both these sorts are much commended by the Fanatics for moderate men, ready to put an end to our divisions, and to make a general union among Protestants. Many ignorant well-meaning people are deceived by these appearances, strengthened with great pretences to loyalty; and these occasions, the Fanatics lay hold on, to re-
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vile the doctrine and discipline of the church, and even insult and oppress the clergy, wherever their numbers or favourers will bear them out; insomuch, that one wilful refractory Fanatic hath been able to disturb a whole parish for many years together. But the most moderate and favoured divines dare not own, that the word *moderation*, with respect to the dissenters, can be at all applied to their religion, but is purely personal or prudential. No good man repineth at the liberty of conscience they enjoy; and perhaps a very moderate divine may think better of their loyalty than others do; or, to speak after the manner of men, may think it necessary, that all Protestants should be united against the common enemy; or, out of discretion, or other reasons best known to himself, be tender of mentioning them at all. But still the errors of the dissenters are all fixed and determined; and must, upon demand, be acknowledged by all the divines of our church, whether they be called, in party-phrase, high or low, moderate or violent. And further, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate divines, who, if their opinion were asked, whether dissenters should be trusted with power, could, according to their consciences, answer in the affirmative: from whence it is plain, that all the stir which the Fanatics have made with this word *moderation*, was only meant to increase our divisions, and widen them, so far as to make room for themselves to get in between. And this is the only scheme they ever had (except that of
destroying

destroying root and branch) for the uniting of Protestants, they so much talk of.

I shall mention but one ill consequence more, which attends our want of brotherly love; that it hath put an end to all hospitality and friendship, all good correspondence and commerce between mankind. There are, indeed, such things as leagues and confederacies among those of the same party; but surely, God never intended, that men should be so limited in the choice of their friends: however, so it is in town and country, in every parish and street; the pastor is divided from his flock, the father from his son, and the house often divided against itself. Mens very natures are soured, and their passions inflamed, when they meet in party-clubs, and spend their time in nothing else but railing at the opposite side: thus every man alive among us is encompassed with a million of enemies of his own country, among which his oldest acquaintance, and friends, and kindred themselves, are often of the number. Neither can people of different parties mix together, without constraint, suspicion, and jealousy; watching every word they speak, for fear of giving offence, or else falling into rudeness and reproaches: and so leaving themselves open to the malice and corruption of informers, who were never more numerous or expert in their trade. And, as a further addition to this evil, those very few, who, by the goodness and generosity of their nature, do in their own hearts despise this narrow principle,

ciple, of confining their friendship and esteem, their charity and good offices, to those of their own party, yet dare not discover their good inclinations, for fear of losing their favour and interest. And others, again, whom God had formed with mild and gentle dispositions, think it necessary to put a force upon their own tempers, by acting a noisy, violent, malicious part, as a means to be distinguished. Thus hath party got the better of the very genius and constitution of our people; so that whoever reads the character of the English in former ages, will hardly believe their present posterity to be of the same nation or climate.

III. I shall now, in the last place, make use of some motives and exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love, and to continue in it. Let me apply myself to you of the lower sort, and desire you will consider, when any one of you make use of fair and enticing words to draw in customers, whether you do it for their sakes, or your own. And then, for whose sakes do you think it is, that your leaders are so industrious to put into your heads all that party-rage and virulence? Is it not to make you the tools and instruments, by which they work out their own designs? Has this spirit of faction been useful to any of you in your worldly concerns, except to those who have traded in whispering, backbiting, or informing, and wanted skill or honesty to thrive by fairer methods? It is

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no business of yours to inquire, who is at the head of armies, or of councils, unless you had power and skill to chuse, neither of which is ever like to be your case: and therefore, to fill your heads with fears and hatred of persons and things, of which it is impossible you can ever make a right judgment, or to set you at variance with your neighbour, because his thoughts are not the same as yours, is not only in a very gross manner to cheat you of your time and quiet, but likewise to endanger your souls.

Secondly, In order to restore brotherly love, let me earnestly exhort you to stand firm in your religion, I mean the true religion hitherto established among us; without varying in the least, either to Popery on the one side, or to Fanaticism on the other: and in a particular manner beware of that word *moderation*; and believe it, that your neighbour is not immediately a villain, a Papist, and a traitor, because the Fanatics and their adherents will not allow him to be a moderate man. Nay, it is very probable, that your teacher himself may be a loyal, pious, and able divine, without the least grain of moderation, as the word is too frequently understood. Therefore, to set you right in this matter, I will lay before you the character of a truly moderate man; and then I will give you the description of such an one who falsely pretendeth to that title.

A man truly moderate, is steady in the doctrine and discipline of the church, but with a due Christian charity to all who dissent from it,
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out of a principle of conscience; the freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abused; but never trusted with power. He is ready to defend, with his life and fortune, the Protestant succession, and the Protestant established faith, against all invaders whatsoever. He is for giving the crown its just prerogative, and the people their just liberties. He hateth no man for differing from him in political opinions; nor doth he think it a maxim infallible, That virtue should always attend upon favour, and vice upon disgrace. These are some few lineaments in the character of a truly moderate man. Let us now compare it with the description of one who usually passeth under that title.

A moderate man, in the new meaning of the word, is one to whom all religion is indifferent; who, although he denominates himself of the church, regardeth it no more than a conventicle. He perpetually railleth at the body of the clergy, with exceptions only to a very few, who, he hopeth, and probably upon false grounds, are as ready to betray their rights and properties as himself. He thinks the power of the people can never be too great, nor that of the prince too little; and yet, this very notion he publisheth, as his best argument to prove him a most loyal subject. Every opinion in government, that differeth in the least from his, tends directly to Popery, slavery, and rebellion. Whoever lieth under the frown of power, can, in his judgment, neither have common sense, common honesty, nor religion.

gion. Lastly, his devotion consisteth in drinking gibbets, confusion, and damnation; in profanely idolizing the memory of one dead prince, and ungratefully trampling upon the ashes of another.

By these marks, you will easily distinguish a truly moderate man, from those who are commonly, but very falsely, so called: and while persons thus qualified, are so numerous, and so noisy, so full of zeal and industry to gain profelytes, and spread their opinions among the people, it cannot be wondered that there should be so little brotherly love left among us.

Lastly, It would probably contribute to restore some degree of brotherly love, if we would but consider, that the matter of those disputes, which inflame us to this degree, doth not, in its own nature, at all concern the generality of mankind. Indeed, as to those who have been great gainers or losers by the changes of the world, the case is different; and, to preach moderation to the first, and patience to the last, would perhaps be to little purpose. But what is that to the bulk of the people, who are not properly concerned in the quarrel, although evil instruments have drawn them into it? For, if the reasonable men on both sides were to confer opinions, they would find neither religion, loyalty, nor interest, are at all affected in this dispute. Not religion, because the members of the church, on both sides, profess to agree in every article: not loyalty to our prince; which is pretended to by one party
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as much as the other, and therefore can be no subject for debate: not interest, for trade and industry lie open to all; and, what is further, concerneth those only who have expectations from the public. So that the body of the people, if they knew their own good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their betters to quarrel among themselves, who might also probably soon come to a better temper, if they were less seconded and supported by the poor deluded multitude.

I have now done with my text; which I confess to have treated in a manner more suited to the present times, than to the nature of the subject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the several parts and properties of this great duty of brotherly love, the apostle to the Thessalonians will plead my excuse. *Touching brotherly love, (saith he,) ye need not that I write unto you; for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.* So that nothing remains to add, but our prayers to God, that he would please to restore and continue this great duty of brotherly love or charity among us, the very bond of peace, and of all virtues.

Nov. 29. 1717.

S E R M O N V.

The DIFFICULTY of KNOWING ONE'S SELF.*

2 KINGS viii. 13. part of it.

*And Hazael said, But what, is thy servant a dog,
that he should do this great thing?*

WE have a very signal instance of the deceitfulness of the heart, represented to us in the person of Hazael; who was sent to the prophet Elisha, to inquire of the Lord, concerning his master the King of Syria's recovery. For the man of God having told him, that the King might recover from the disorder he was then labouring under, began to set and fasten his countenance upon him of a sudden, and to break out into the most violent expressions of sorrow, and a deep concern for it: whereupon, when Hazael, full of shame and confusion, asked, *Why weepeth my lord?* he answered, *Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strong-holds wilt thou set on fire,*
and

* The manuscript title-page of the following sermon being lost, and no memorandums writ upon it, as there were upon the others, when and where it was preached, made the editor doubtful whether he should print it as the Dean's or not. But its being found amongst the same papers; and the hand, although writ somewhat better, having a great similitude to the Dean's, made him willing to lay it before the public, that they might judge whether the style and manner also do not render it still more probable to be his. *Dublin edition.*—I shall take no notice of this sermon, as it is evidently not composed by the Dean, *Errery.*

and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child. Thus much did the man of God say and know of him, by a light darted into his mind from heaven. But Hazael, not knowing himself so well as the other did, was startled and amazed at the relation, and would not believe it possible, that a man of his temper could ever run over into such enormous instances of cruelty and inhumanity: *What, says he, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?*

And yet, for all this, it is highly probable, that he was then that very man he could not imagine himself to be: for we find him, on the very next day after his return, in a very treacherous and disloyal manner, murdering his own master, and usurping his kingdom; which was but a prologue to the sad tragedy which he afterwards acted upon the people of Israel.

And now the case is but very little better with most men, than it was with Hazael. However it cometh to pass, they are wonderfully unacquainted with their own temper and disposition, and know very little of what passeth within them: for, of so many proud, ambitious, revengeful, envying, and ill-natured persons that are in the world, where is there one of them, who, although he hath all the symptoms of the vice appearing upon every occasion, can look with such an impartial eye upon himself, as to believe, that the imputation thrown upon him, is not altogether groundless and unfair? who, if he were

told, by men of a discerning spirit and a strong conjecture, of all the evil and absurd things which that false heart of his would, at one time or other, betray him into, would not believe as little, and wonder as much, as Hazael did before him? Thus, for instance, tell an angry person, that he is weak and impotent, and of no consistency of mind; tell him, that such or such a little accident, which he may then despise, and think much below a passion, shall hereafter make him say and do several absurd, indiscreet, and misbecoming things: he may perhaps own, that he hath a spirit of resentment within him, that will not let him be imposed on; but he fondly imagines, that he can lay a becoming restraint upon it when he pleases, although it is ever running away with him into some indecency or other.

Therefore, to bring down the words of my text to our present occasion, I shall endeavour, in a further prosecution of them, to evince the great necessity of a nice and curious inspection into the several recesses of the heart; that being the surest and the shortest method that a wicked man can take to reform himself. For, let us but stop the fountain, and the streams will spend and waste themselves away in a very little time: but if we go about, like children, to raise a bank, and to stop the current, not taking notice, all the while, of the spring which continually feedeth it; when the next flood of a temptation riseth, and breaketh in upon it, then we shall find, that we have begun at the wrong end of our duty, and that

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we are very little more the better for it, than if we had sat still, and made no advances at all.

But, in order to a clearer explanation of the point, I shall speak to these following particulars.

1. By endeavouring to prove, from particular instances, that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself.

2. By inquiring into the grounds and reasons of this ignorance,

3. And lastly, By proposing several advantages that do most assuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves.

I. First then, To prove that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself:

To pursue the heart of man through all the instances of life, in all its several windings and turnings, and under that infinite variety of shapes and appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almost impossible undertaking: so that I shall confine myself to such as have a nearer reference to the present occasion, and do, upon a closer view, shew themselves through the whole business of repentance. For we all know what it is to repent; but whether he repenteth him truly of his sins or not, who can know it?

Now, the great duty of repentance, is chiefly made up of these two parts; a hearty sorrow for the follies and miscarriages of the time past, and a full purpose and resolution of amendment for the

the time to come. And now, to shew the falseness of the heart in both these parts of repentance. And,

First, As to a hearty sorrow for the sins and miscarriages of the time past : Is there a more usual thing than for a man to impose upon himself, by putting on a grave and demure countenance, by casting a severe look into his past conduct, and making some few pious and devout reflections upon it, and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent purpose, without ever letting it step forth into practice, and shew itself in a holy conversation ? Nay, some persons do carry the deceit a little higher ; who, if they can but bring themselves to weep for their sins, are then full of an ill-grounded confidence and security ; never considering, that all this may prove to be no more than the very garb and outward dress of a contrite heart, which another heart, as hard as the nether millstone, may as well put on. For tears and sighs, however in some persons they may be decent and commendable expressions of a godly sorrow, are neither necessary, nor infallible signs of a true and unfeigned repentance : not necessary, because, sometimes, and in some persons, the inward grief and anguish of the mind may be too big to be expressed by so little a thing as a tear ; and then it turneth its edge inwards upon the mind ; and, like those wounds of the body which bleed inwardly, it generally proves the most fatal and dangerous to the whole body of sin : not infallible, because
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a very small portion of sorrow may make some tender dispositions melt, and break out into tears; or a man may perhaps weep at parting with his sins, as he would to bid the last farewell to an old friend, that he was sure never to see again.

But there is still a more pleasant cheat in this affair, that when we find a deadness, and a strange kind of unaptness and indisposition to all impressions of religion, and that we cannot be as truly sorry for our sins as we should be; we then pretend to be sorry that we are not more sorry for them; which is not less absurd and irrational, than that a man should pretend to be very angry at a thing, because he did not know how to be angry at all.

But, after all, what is wanting in this part of repentance, we expect to make it up in the next; and to that purpose, we put on a resolution of amendment, which we take to be as firm as a house built upon a rock; so that, let the floods arise, and the winds blow, and the streams beat vehemently upon it, nothing shall shake it into ruin and disorder. We doubt not, upon the strength of this resolve, to stand fast and unmoved amidst the storm of a temptation; and do firmly believe, at the time we make it, that nothing in the world will ever be able to make us commit those sins over again, which we have so firmly resolved against.

Thus, many a time, have we come to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, with a full purpose of amendment, and with as full a persuasion of
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putting that same purpose into practice; and yet, have we not all as often broke that good purpose, and falsified that same persuasion, by starting aside, like a broken bow, into those very sins which we then so solemnly and so confidently declared against?

Whereas, had but any other person entered with us, into a vow, so solemn, that he had taken the holy sacrament upon it, I believe, had he but once deceived us, by breaking in upon the vow, we should hardly, ever after, be prevailed upon to trust that man again; although we still continue to trust our own hearts, against reason, and against experience.

This, indeed, is a dangerous deceit enough; and will, of course, betray all those well-meaning persons into sin and folly, who are apt to take religion for a much easier thing than it is. But this is not the only mistake we are apt to run into: we do not only think, sometimes, that we can do more than we can do, but sometimes that we are incapable of doing less: An error of another kind, indeed, but not less dangerous, arising from a diffidence and false humility; for, how much a wicked man can do, in the business of religion, if he would but do his best, is very often more than he can tell.

Thus, nothing is more common, than to see a wicked man running headlong into sin and folly, against his reason, against his religion, and against his God. Tell him, that what he is going to do, will be an infinite disparagement to his understanding,

standing, which, at another time, he setteth no small value upon; tell him, that it will blacken his reputation, which he had rather die for, than lose; tell him, that the pleasure of the sin is short and transient, and leaveth a vexatious kind of a sting behind it, which will very hardly be drawn forth; tell him, that this is one of those things for which God will, most surely, bring him to judgment, which he pretendeth to believe, with a full assurance and persuasion: and yet, for all this, he shutteth his eyes against all conviction, and rusheth into the sin, like a horse into the battle; as if he had nothing left to do, but, like a silly child, to wink hard, and to think to escape a certain and an infinite mischief, only by endeavouring not to see it.

And now, to shew that the heart hath given in a false report of the temptation, we may learn from this, that the same weak man would resist and master the same powerful temptation, upon considerations, of infinitely less value than those which religion offereth; nay, such vile considerations, that the grace of God cannot, without blasphemy, be supposed to add any manner of force and efficacy to them. Thus, for instance, it would be a hard matter to dress up a sin in such soft and tempting circumstances, that a truly covetous man would not resist, for a considerable sum of money; when neither the hopes of heaven, nor the fears of hell, could make an impression upon him before. But, can any thing be a surer indication of the deceitfulness of the heart, than

than thus to shew more courage, resolution, and activity, in an ill cause, than it doth in a good one? and to exert itself to better purpose, when it is to serve its own pride, or lust, or revenge, or any other passion, than when it is to serve God, upon the motives of the gospel, and upon all the arguments that have ever been made use of, to bring men over to religion and a good life? And, thus, having shewn that a man is wonderfully apt to deceive and impose upon himself, in passing through the several stages of that great duty, repentance; I proceed, now, in the

II. Second place, To enquire into the grounds and reasons of this ignorance, and to shew, whence it cometh to pass, that a man, the only creature in the world that can reflect, and look into himself, should know so little of what passeth within him, and be so very much unacquainted, even with the standing dispositions and complexions of his own heart. The prime reason of it is, because we so very seldom converse with ourselves, and take so little notice of what passeth within us. For, a man can no more know his own heart, than he can know his own face, any other way than by reflection: he may as well tell over every feature of the smaller portions of his face, without the help of a looking-glass, as he can tell all the inward bents and tendencies of the soul, those standing features and lineaments of the inward man, and know all the various changes that this is liable to, from custom, from passion, and
from

from opinion, without a very frequent use of looking within himself.

For our passions and inclinations are not always upon the wing, and always moving towards their respective objects; but retire, now and then, into the more dark and hidden recesses of the heart, where they ly concealed for a while, until a fresh occasion calls them forth again: so that, not every transient, oblique glance upon the mind, can bring a man into a thorough knowledge of all its strengths and weaknesses; for a man may sometimes turn the eye of the mind inward upon itself, as he may behold his natural face in a glass, and go away, and straight forget what manner of man he was. But a man must rather sit down, and unravel every action of the past day, into all its circumstances and particularities, and observe how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of impression it made upon his heart: this done, with that frequency and carefulness which the importance of the duty doth require, would, in a short time, bring him into a near and intimate acquaintance with himself.

But when men, instead of this, do pass away months and years, in a perfect slumber of the mind, without once awaking it, it is no wonder, they should be so very ignorant of themselves, and know very little more of what passeth within them, than the very beasts which perish. But, here, it may not be amiss to enquire into the rea-

sons, why most men have so little conversation with themselves.

And, 1st, Because this reflection is a work and labour of the mind, and cannot be performed, without some pain and difficulty. For, before a man can reflect upon himself, and look into his heart with a steady eye, he must contract his sight, and collect all his scattered and roving thoughts into some order and compass, that he may be able to take a clear and distinct view of them; he must retire from the world for a while, and be unattentive to all impressions of sense: and how hard and painful a thing must it needs be, to a man of passion and infirmity, amidst such a crowd of objects, that are continually striking upon the sense, and soliciting the affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them! But,

2^{dly}, Another reason why we so seldom converse with ourselves, is, because the business of the world taketh up all our time, and leaveth us no portion of it to spend upon this great work and labour of the mind. Thus, twelve or fourteen years pass away, before we can well discern good from evil; and, of the rest, so much goeth away in sleep, so much in the ordinary business of life, and so much in the proper business of our callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more serious and religious employments. Every man's life is an imperfect sort of a circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every day; he hath a set of thoughts, desires, and inclinations, which
return

return upon him, in their proper time and order, and will very hardly be laid aside, to make room for any thing new and uncommon: so that, call upon him when you please, to set about the study of his own heart, and you are sure to find him pre-engaged; either he hath some business to do, or some diversion to take, some acquaintance that he must visit, or some company that he must entertain, or some cross accident hath put him out of humour, and unfitted him for such a grave employment. And thus it comes to pass, that a man can never find leisure to look into himself, because, he doth not set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose, but foolishly deferreth it from one day to another, until his glass is almost run out, and he is called upon to give a miserable account of himself in the other world. But,

3dly, Another reason why a man doth not more frequently converse with himself, is, because such a conversation with his own heart, may discover some vice, or some infirmity, lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himself guilty of. For, can there be a more ungrateful thing to a man, than to find, that, upon a nearer view, he is not that person he took himself to be? that he hath neither the courage, nor the honesty, nor the piety, nor the humility, that he dreamed he had? that a very little pain, for instance, putteth him out of patience, and as little pleasure, softeneth and disarmeth him into ease and wantonness? that he hath been at more pains, and

labour, and cost, to be revenged of an enemy, than to oblige the best friend he hath in the world? that he cannot bring himself to say his prayers, without a great deal of reluctancy; and, when he doth say them, the spirit and fervour of devotion evaporate in a very short time, and he can scarcely hold out a prayer of ten lines, without a number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked thoughts coming into his head? These are very unwelcome discoveries, that a man may make of himself; so that, it is no wonder, that every one, who is already flushed with a good opinion of himself, should rather study how to run away from it, than how to converse with his own heart.

But further, If a man were both able and willing to retire into his own heart, and to set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose; yet he is still disabled from passing a fair and impartial judgment upon himself, by several difficulties, arising partly from prejudice and prepossession, partly from the lower appetites and inclinations. And,

1st, That the business of prepossession may lead and betray a man into a false judgment of his own heart. For, we may observe, that the first opinion we take up of any thing, or of any person, doth generally stick close to us; the nature of the mind being such, that it cannot but desire, and, consequently, endeavour, to have some certain principles to go upon, something fixed and immoveable, whereon it may rest and support itself.

self. And hence it cometh to pass, that some persons are, with so much difficulty, brought to think well of a man, they have once entertained an ill opinion of; and, perhaps, that, too, for a very absurd and unwarrantable reason. But, how much more difficult, then, must it be, for a man who taketh up a fond opinion of his own heart, long before he hath either years, or sense enough, to understand it, either to be persuaded out of it by himself, whom he loveth so well, or by another, whose interest or diversion it may be, to make him ashamed of himself? Then,

2dly, As to the difficulties arising from the inferior appetites and inclinations, let any man look into his own heart, and observe, in how different a light, and under what different complexions, any two sins, of equal turpitude and malignity, do appear to him, if he hath but a strong inclination to the one, and none at all to the other. That which he hath an inclination to, is always dressed up in all the false beauty that a fond and busy imagination can give it; the other appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true circumstances of folly and dishonour. Thus, stealing is a vice that few gentlemen are inclined to; and they justly think it below the dignity of a man, to stoop to so base and low a sin: but no principle of honour, no workings of the mind and conscience, not the still voice of mercy, not the dreadful call of judgment, nor any considerations whatever, can put a stop to that violence and oppression, that pride and ambition, that re-

velling and wantonness, which we every day meet with in the world. Nay, it is easy to observe very different thoughts in a man, of the sin that he is most fond of, according to the different ebbs and flows of his inclination to it. For, as soon as the appetite is alarmed, and seizeth upon the heart, a little cloud gathereth about the head, and spreadeth a kind of darkness over the face of the soul, whereby it is hindered from taking a clear and distinct view of things: but, no sooner is the appetite tired and satiated, but the same cloud passeth away like a shadow; and, a new light springing up in the mind, of a sudden, the man seeth much more, both of the folly and of the danger of the sin, than he did before.

And thus, having done with the several reasons, why man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himself, is so very ignorant of what passeth within him, and so much unacquainted with the standing dispositions and complexions of his own heart; I proceed now, in the

III. Third and last place, to lay down several advantages that do *most assuredly* attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves. And,

1. One great advantage is, that it tendeth very much to mortify and humble a man into a modest and low opinion of himself. For, let a man take a nice and curious inspection into all the several regions of the heart, and observe every thing irregular

regular and amiss within him; for instance, how narrow and short-sighted a thing is the understanding! upon how little reason do we take up an opinion, and upon how much less sometimes do we lay it down again! how weak and false ground do we often walk upon, with the biggest confidence and assurance; and how tremulous and doubtful we are very often, where no doubt is to be made! Again, how wild and impertinent, how busy and incoherent a thing is the imagination, even in the best and wisest men; insomuch, that every man may be said to be mad, but every man doth not shew it! Then, as to the passions, how noisy, how turbulent, and how tumultuous are they! how easily are they stirred and set a-going; how eager and hot in the pursuit, and what strange disorder and confusion do they throw a man into, so that he can neither think, nor speak, nor act, as he should do, while he is under the dominion of any one of them.

Thus, let every man look, with a severe and impartial eye, into all the distinct regions of the heart; and, no doubt, several deformities and irregularities, that he never thought of, will open and disclose themselves upon so near a view; and rather make the man ashamed of himself, than proud.

2. A due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves, doth certainly secure us from the sly and insinuating assaults of flattery. There is not in the world a baser, and more hateful thing, than flattery. It proceedeth from so much falseness

ness and insincerity in the man that giveth it, and often discovereth so much weakness and folly in the man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is most to be blamed. Every man of common sense can demonstrate in speculation, and may be fully convinced, that all the praises and commendations of the whole world, can add no more to the real and intrinsic value of a man, than they can add to his stature. And yet, for all this, men of the best sense and piety, when they come down to the practice, cannot forbear thinking much better of themselves, when they have the good fortune to be spoken well of by other persons.

But, the meaning of this absurd proceeding, seemeth to be no other than this: There are few men that have so intimate an acquaintance with their own hearts, as to know their own real worth, and how to set a just rate upon themselves; and therefore, they do not know, but that he who praises them most, may be most in the right of it. For, no doubt, if a man were ignorant of the true value of a thing he loved as well as himself, he would measure the worth of it according to the esteem of him who biddeth most for it, rather than of him that biddeth less.

Therefore, the most infallible way to disentangle a man from the snares of flattery, is, to consult and study his own heart; for, whoever does that well, will hardly be so absurd, as to take another man's word, before his own sense and experience.

3. Another

3. Another advantage from this kind of study, is this, that it teacheth a man how to behave himself patiently, when he has the ill fortune to be censured and abused by other people. For, a man who is thoroughly acquainted with his own heart, doth already know much more evil of himself, than any body else can tell him; and when any one speaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God, that he can say no worse. For, could his enemy but look into the dark and hidden recesses of the heart, he considereth what a number of impure thoughts he might there see brooding and hovering, like a dark cloud, upon the face of the soul; that there he might take a prospect of the fancy, and view it acting over the several scenes of pride, of ambition, of envy, of lust, and revenge; that there he might tell how often a vicious inclination hath been restrained, for no other reason, but just to save the man's credit or interest in the world; and how many unbecoming ingredients have entered into the composition of his best actions. And now, what man in the whole world would be able to bear so severe a test, to have every thought and inward motion of the heart laid open, and exposed to the view of his enemies? But,

4. And *lastly*, Another advantage of this kind, is, that it maketh men less severe upon other peoples faults, and less busy and industrious in spreading them. For, a man employed at home, inspecting into his own failings, hath not leisure enough to take notice of every little spot and blemish.

blemish that lieth scattered upon others : Or, if he cannot escape the sight of them, he always passes the most easy and favourable construction upon them. Thus, for instance, does the ill he knoweth of a man proceed from an unhappy temper and constitution of body ? he then considereth with himself, how hard a thing it is, not to be borne down with the current of the blood and spirits ; and accordingly, layeth some part of the blame upon the weakness of human nature ; for he hath felt the force and rapidity of it within his own breast ; though, perhaps, in another instance, he remembereth how it rageth and swelleth by opposition ; and though it may be restrained, or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally subdued.

Or, hath the man sinned out of custom ; he then, from his own experience, traceth a habit into the very first rise and imperfect beginnings of it ; and can tell, by how slow and insensible advances it creepeth upon the heart ; how it worketh itself, by degrees, into the very frame and texture of it, and so passeth into a second nature ; and, consequently, he hath a just sense of the great difficulty for him to learn to do good, who hath been long accustomed to do evil.

Or, *lastly*, Hath a false opinion betrayed him into a sin ? he then calleth to mind what wrong apprehensions he hath had of some things himself ; how many opinions that he once made no doubt of, he hath, upon a stricter examination, found to be doubtful and uncertain ; how many
more

more to be unreasonable and absurd. He knoweth, further, that there are a great many more opinions that he hath never yet examined into at all, and which, however, he still believeth; for no other reason, but because he hath believed them so long already, without a reason. Thus, upon every occasion, a man intimately acquainted with himself, consulteth his own heart, and maketh every man's case to be his own, (and so puts the most favourable interpretation upon it.) Let every man, therefore, look into his own heart, before he beginneth to abuse the reputation of another; and then he will hardly be so absurd, as to throw a dart that will so certainly rebound, and wound himself. And thus, through the whole course of his conversation, let him keep an eye upon that one great and comprehensive rule of Christian duty, on which hangeth not only the law and the prophets, but the very life and spirit of the gospel too; *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.* Which rule, that we may all duly observe, by throwing aside all scandal and detraction, all spite and rancour, all rudeness and contempt, all rage and violence, and whatever tendeth to make conversation and commerce either uneasy or troublesome, may the God of peace grant, for Jesus Christ's sake, &c.

Consider what hath been said, and the Lord give you a right understanding in all things. To whom, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever.

A PRO-

A

P R O P O S A L

Humbly offered to the PARLIAMENT, for the more effectual preventing the further growth of POPERY.

With the Description and Use of the ECCLESIASTICAL THERMOMETER.

Very proper for all Families.

*Infani sanus nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsum.*

HOR.

HAVING, with great sorrow of heart, observed the increase of Popery among us, of late years, and how ineffectual the penal laws and statutes of this realm have been, for near forty years last past, towards reclaiming that blind and deluded people from their errors, notwithstanding the good intentions of the legislators, and the *pious and unwearied labours* of the many learned divines of the established church, who have preached to them *without ceasing*, although hitherto without success :

Having also remarked, in his Grace's speech to both houses of parliament, most kind offers of his Grace's good offices, towards obtaining such further laws as shall be thought necessary towards

wards bringing home the said wandering sheep into the fold of the church; as also, a good disposition in the parliament to join in the *laudable* work; towards which, every good Protestant ought to contribute *at least his advice*: I think it a proper time to lay before the public, a scheme, which was writ some years since, and laid by, to be ready on a fit occasion.

That whereas the several penal laws and statutes now in being against Papists, have been found ineffectual, and rather tend to confirm, than reclaim men from their errors; as, calling a man *coward*, is a ready way to make him fight; it is humbly proposed,

I. That the said penal laws and statutes against Papists, except the law of *Gavelkind*, and that which disqualifies them for places, be repealed, abrogated, annulled, destroyed, and obliterated, to all intents and purposes.

II. That, in the room of the said penal laws and statutes, all ecclesiastical jurisdiction be taken from out of the hands of the clergy of the established church, and the same be vested in the several Popish archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons; nevertheless, so as such jurisdiction be exercised over persons of the Popish religion only.

III. That a Popish priest shall be settled, by law, in each and every parish in Ireland.

IV. That the said Popish priest shall, on taking the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, be intitled to a tenth part, or tithe, of all things titheable in Ireland, belonging to the Papists within

their respective parishes; yet so as such grant of tithes, to such Popish priests, shall not be construed, *in law or equity*, to hinder the Protestant clergyman of such parish from receiving and collecting his tithes, in *like manner* as he does at present.

V. That, in case of detention or subtraction of tithes by any Papist, the parish-priest do have his remedy at law, in any of his Majesty's courts, in the same manner as now practised by the clergy of the established church; together with all other ecclesiastical dues. And, for their further discovery, to vex their people at law, it might not be amiss, to oblige the Solicitor-General, or some other able King's counsel, to give his advice or assistance to such priests *gratis*, for which he might receive a salary out of the *barrack fund*, *military contingencies*, or *concordatum*; having observed the exceedings there better paid than of the army, or any other branch of the establishment; and I would have no delay in payment, in a matter of this importance.

VI. That the archbishops and bishops have power to visit the inferior clergy, and to extort proxies, exhibits, and all other perquisites usual in *Popish* and *Protestant countries*.

VII. That the convocation having been found, by long experience, to be hurtful to *true religion*, be for ever hereafter abolished among Protestants.

VIII. That, in the room thereof, the Popish archbishops, bishops, priests, deans, archdeacons, and

and proctors, have liberty to assemble themselves in convocation, and be impowered to make such canons as they shall think proper, for the government of the Papists in Ireland.

IX. And, that the secular arm being necessary to enforce obedience to ecclesiastical censure, the sheriffs, constables, and other officers, be commanded to execute the decrees and sentences of the said Popish convocation, with secrecy and dispatch; or, in lieu thereof, they may be at liberty to erect an inquisition, with proper officers of their own.

X. That, as Papists declare themselves converts to the established church, all *spiritual power* over them shall cease.

XI. That as soon as any whole parish shall renounce the Popish religion, the priest of such parish shall, for his good services, have a pension of 200 l. *per annum* settled on him for life; and that he be, from such time, exempt from preaching and praying, and other duties of his function, in like manner as *Protestant divines*, with equal incomes, are at present.

XII. That each bishop, so soon as his diocese shall become Protestants, be called *My Lord*, and have a pension of two thousand pounds *per annum*, during life.

XIII. That when a whole province shall be reclaimed, the archbishop shall be called *His Grace*, and have a pension of three thousand pounds *per annum*, during life, and be admitted a member of his Majesty's *most honourable privy council*.

The good consequences of this scheme (which will execute itself, without murmurings against the government) are very visible. I shall mention a few of the most obvious.

I. The giving the priest a right to the tithe, would produce law-suits and wrangles; his Reverence, being intitled to a certain income at all events, would consider himself as a legal incumbent, and *behave accordingly*, and apply himself more to fleecing than feeding his flock. His necessary attendance on the courts of justice, would leave his people without a *spiritual guide*; by which means, Protestant curates, who have no suits about tithes, would be furnished with proper opportunities for making converts; which is very much wanted.

II. The erecting a spiritual jurisdiction amongst them, would, *in all probability*, drive as many out of that communion, as a *due execution* of such jurisdiction hath hitherto drove from amongst ourselves.

III. An *inquisition* would still be a further improvement, and, most certainly, would expedite the conversion of Papists.

I know, it may be objected to this scheme, and with some shew of reason, That, should the Popish princes abroad pursue the same methods, with regard to their Protestant subjects, the Protestant interest in Europe would thereby be considerably weakened. But, as we have no reason to suspect Popish councils will ever produce so much moderation, I think the objection ought to have but little weight.

A due

A due execution of this scheme, will soon produce many converts from Popery: nevertheless, to the end it may be known, when they shall be of the true *church*, I have ordered a large parcel of ecclesiastical, or church *thermometers*, to be made, one of which is to be hung up in each parish-church; the description and use of which, take as follows, in the words of the ingenious Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq;

THE church-thermometer, which I am now to treat of, is supposed to have been invented in the reign of Henry VIII. about the time when that religious prince put some to death, for owning the Pope's supremacy, and others for denying transubstantiation. I do not find, however, any great use made of this instrument, till it fell into the hand of a learned and vigilant priest, or minister, (for he frequently wrote himself both the one and the other,) who was some time vicar of Bray. This gentleman lived in his vicarage to a good old age; and, after having seen several successions of his neighbouring clergy, either burnt or banished, departed this life, with the satisfaction of having never deserted his flock, and died vicar of Bray. As this glass was first designed to calculate the different degrees of heat in religion, as it raged in Popery, or as it cooled and grew temperate in the reformation, it was marked at several distances, after the manner our ordinary thermometer is to this day, *viz. Extreme*

hot, Sultry hot, Very hot, Hot, Warm, Temperate, Cold, Just freezing, Frost, Hard frost, Great frost, Extreme cold.

It is well known, that Torricellius, the inventor of the common weather-glass, made the experiment of a long tube, which held thirty-two foot of water; and that a more modern virtuoso, finding such a machine altogether unwieldy, and useless, and considering, that thirty-two inches of quicksilver weighed as much as so many foot of water, in a tube of the same circumference, invented that sizeable instrument which is now in use. After this manner, that I might adapt the thermometer I am now speaking of, to the present constitution of our church, as divided into *High* and *Low*, I have made some necessary variations, both in the tube, and the fluid it contains. In the first place, I ordered a tube to be cast, in a planetary hour, and took care to seal it hermetically, when the sun was in conjunction with Saturn. I then took the proper precautions about the fluid, which is a compound of two different liquors; one of them a spirit, drawn out of a strong heady wine; the other, a particular sort of rock-water, colder than ice, and clearer than chrystal. The spirit is of a red, fiery colour; and so very apt to ferment, that, unless it be mingled with a proportion of the water, or pent up very close, it will burst the vessel that holds it, and fly up in fume and smoke. The water, on the contrary, is of such a subtile, piercing cold, that,

that, unless it be mingled with a proportion of the spirits, it will sink almost through every thing it is put into; and seems to be of the same nature as the water mentioned by Quintus Curtius; which, says the historian, could be contained in nothing but in the hoof, or (as the Oxford manuscript has it) the scull of an afs. The thermometer is marked, according to the following figure, which I set down at length, not only to give my reader a clear idea of it, but also to fill up my paper.

Ignorance.

Persecution.

Wrath.

Zeal.

CHURCH.

Moderation.

Lukewarmness.

Infidelity.

Ignorance.

The reader will observe, that the church is placed in the middle point of the glass, between *Zeal* and *Moderation*, the situation in which she always flourishes, and in which, every good Englishman wishes her, who is a friend to the constitution of his country. However, when it mounts to *Zeal*, it is not amiss; and, when it sinks to *Moderation*, it is still in admirable temper. The worst of it is, that, when once it begins to rise, it has still an inclination to ascend, insomuch, that

that it is apt to climb from *Zeal* to *Wrath*, and from *Wrath* to *Persecution*, which often ends in *Ignorance*, and very often proceeds from it. In the same manner, it frequently takes its progress through the lower half of the glass; and, when it has a tendency to fall, will gradually descend from *Moderation* to *Lukewarmness*, and from *Lukewarmness* to *Infidelity*, which very often terminates in *Ignorance*, and always proceeds from it.

It is a common observation, that the ordinary thermometer will be affected by the breathing of people who are in the room where it stands; and, indeed, it is almost incredible to conceive, how the glass I am now describing, will fall, by the breath of the multitude, crying *Popery*; or, on the contrary, how it will rise, when the same multitude (as it sometimes happens) cry out, in the same breath, *The church is in danger*.

As soon as I had finished this my glass, and adjusted it to the above-mentioned scale of religion, that I might make proper experiments with it, I carried it, under my cloak, to several coffee-houses, and other places of resort, about this great city. At St. James's coffee-house, the liquor stood at *Moderation*; but, at Will's, to my extreme surprise, it subsided to the very lowest mark of the glass. At the Grecian, it mounted but just one point higher; at the Rainbow, it still ascended two degrees: Child's fetched it up to *Zeal*, and other adjacent coffee-houses to *Wrath*.

It fell, in the lower half of the glass, as I went further into the city, till, at length, it settled at
Moderation;

Moderation; where it continued, all the time I staid about the 'Change, as also whilst I passed by the Bank. And here I cannot but take notice, that, through the whole course of my remarks, I never observed my glass to rise, at the same time that the stocks did.

To complete the experiment, I prevailed upon a friend of mine, who works under me in the occult sciences, to make a progress, with my glass, through the whole island of Great-Britain; and, after his return, to present me with a register of his observations. I guessed, before-hand, at the temper of several places he passed through, by the characters they have had, time out of mind. Thus, that facetious divine, Dr. Fuller, speaking of the town of Banbury, near a hundred years ago, tells us, it was a place famous for cakes and *zeal*; which I find, by my glass, is true, to this day, as to the latter part of his description; though, I must confess, it is not in the same reputation for cakes, that it was in the time of that learned author; and thus of other places. In short, I have now by me, digested in an alphabetical order, all the counties, corporations, and boroughs, in Great-Britain, with their respective tempers, as they stand related in my thermometer. But this I shall keep to myself; because, I would, by no means, do any thing that may seem to influence any ensuing election.

The point of doctrine which I would propagate, by this my invention, is the same which was, long ago, advanced by that able teacher Horace, out
of

of whom I have taken my text for this discourse. We should be careful not to overshoot ourselves, in the pursuits even of virtue. Whether *Zeal* or *Moderation* be the point we aim at, let us keep fire out of the one, and frost out of the other. But, alas! the world is too wise to want such a precaution. The terms, *High-church*, and *Low-church*, as commonly used, do not so much denote a principle, as they distinguish a party. They are like words of battle, that have nothing to do with their original signification, but are only given out to keep a body of men together, and to let them know friends from enemies.

I must confess, I have considered, with some attention, the influence which the opinions of these great national sects have upon their practice; and do look upon it as one of the unaccountable things of our times, that multitudes of honest gentlemen, who entirely agree in their lives, should take it in their heads to differ in their religion.

I shall conclude this paper, with an account of a conference, which happened between a very excellent divine (whose doctrine was easy, and, formerly, much respected) and a lawyer.

AND behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?

He said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou?

And he answering, said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy

thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.

And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.

But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?

And Jesus answering, said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded *him*, and departed, leaving *him* half dead.

And, by chance, there came down a certain priest that way; and, when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.

And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on *him*, and passed by on the other side.

But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and, when he saw him, he had compassion on him,

And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine; and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

And on the morrow, when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

Which, now, of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?

And he said, He that shewed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise. *Luke x. 25 to 38.*

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is now in the press, a proposal for raising a fund towards paying the national debt, by the following means. The author would have commissioners appointed, to search all the public and private libraries, bookfellers shops, and warehouses, in this kingdom, for such books as are of no use to the owner, or to the public, *viz.* all comments on the holy scriptures, whether called sermons, creeds, bodies of divinity, tomes of casuistry, vindications, confutations, essays, answers, replies, rejoinders, or sur-rejoinders; together with all other learned treatises, and books of divinity, of what denomination or class soever; as also, all comments on the laws of the land; such as reports, law-cases, decrees, guides for attorneys and young clerks; and, in fine, all the books now in being in this kingdom, (whether of divinity, law, physic, metaphysics, logic, or politics,) except the pure text of the holy scriptures, the naked text of the laws, a few books of morality, poetry, music, architecture, agriculture, mathematics, merchandise, and history; the author would have the afore-said useless books carried to the several paper-mills, there to be wrought into white paper; which, to prevent damage or complaints, he would have performed by the commentators, critics, popular preachers, apothecaries, learned lawyers, attorneys, solicitors, logicians, physicians, almanack-makers, and others of the like wrong turn of mind; the said paper to be sold, and the produce applied to discharge the national debt. What should remain of the said debt unsatisfied, might be paid by a tax on the salaries or estates of *bankers, common cheats, usurers, treasurers, imbezblers of public money, general officers, sharpers, pensioners, pick-pockets, &c.*

THE

T H E P R E F A C E

T O

POPE'S and SWIFT'S MISCELLANIES,
in four volumes 12mo, 1727.

THE papers that compose the first of these volumes, were printed about eighteen years ago, to which there are now added two or three small tracts; and the verses are transferred into the fourth volume apart, with the addition of such others as we since have written. The second and third will consist of several small treatises in prose, in which a friend or two is concerned with us.

Having both of us been extremely ill treated by some booksellers, especially one Edmund Curll, it was our opinion, that the best method we could take for justifying ourselves, would be, to publish whatever loose papers, in prose and verse, we have formerly written; not only such as have already stole into the world (very much to our regret, and perhaps very little to our credit) but such as, in any probability, hereafter may run the same fate; having been obtained from us by the importunity, and divulged by the indiscretion of friends, although restrained by promises, which few of them are ever known to observe, and often think they make us a compliment in breaking.

But the consequences have been still worse: we have been entitled, and have had our names pre-

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fixed

fixed at length, to whole volumes of mean productions, equally offensive to good manners and good sense, which we never saw nor heard of till they appeared in print.

For a *forgery* in setting a false name to a writing, which may prejudice another's fortune, the law punishes the offender with the loss of his *ears*: but has inflicted no adequate penalty for such as prejudice another's reputation, in doing the same thing in print; though all and every individual book, so sold under a false name, are manifestly so many several and multiplied forgeries.

Indeed we hoped, that the good nature, or at least the good judgement of the world, would have cleared us from the imputation of such things, as had been thus charged upon us by the malice of enemies, the want of judgment in friends, the unconcern of indifferent persons, and the confident assertions of booksellers.

We are ashamed to find so ill a taste prevail, as to make it a necessary work to do this justice to ourselves. It is very possible for any author to write below himself; either his subject not proving so fruitful, or fitted for him, as he at first imagined; or his health, or his humour, or the present disposition of his mind, unqualifying him at that juncture: however, if he possessed any distinguishing marks of style, or peculiarity of thinking, there would remain, in his least successful writings, some few tokens, whereby persons of taste might discover him.

But

But since it hath otherwise fallen out, we think we have sufficiently paid for our want of prudence; and determine for the future to be less communicative: or rather, having done with such amusements, we are resolved to give up, what we cannot fairly disown, to the severity of critics, the malice of personal enemies, and the indulgence of friends.

We are sorry for the satire interspersed in some of these pieces upon a few people, from whom the highest provocations have been received, and who, by their conduct since, have shewn, that they have not yet forgiven us the wrong they did. It is a very unlucky circumstance, to be obliged to retaliate the injuries of such authors, whose works are so soon forgotten, that we are in danger already of appearing the first aggressors. It is to be lamented, that Virgil let pass a line, which told posterity he had two enemies, called Bavius and Mævius. The wisest way is, not once to name them, but (as the madman advised the gentleman, who told him he wore a sword to kill his enemies) *to let them alone, and they would die of themselves.* And according to this rule, we have acted throughout all those writings, which we designed for the press: but in these, the publication whereof was not owing to our folly, but that of others, the omission of the names was not in our power. At the worst, we can only give them that liberty now for something, which they have so many years exercised for nothing, of railing

and scribbling against us. And it is some commendation, that we have not done it all this while, but avoided publickly to characterize any person, without long experience. *Nonum prematur in annum*, is a good rule for all writers, but chiefly for writers of characters; because it may happen to those, who vent praise or censure too precipitately, as it did to an eminent English poet, who celebrated a young nobleman for erecting Dryden's monument upon a promise, which his Lordship forgot, till it was done by another.

In regard to two persons only, we wish our raillery, though ever so tender, or resentment, though ever so just, had not been indulged. We speak of Sir John Vanburgh, who was a man of wit, and honour; and of Mr. Addison, whose name deserves all respect from every lover of learning.

We cannot deny (and perhaps most writers of our kind have been in the same circumstances) that in several parts of our lives, and according to the dispositions we were in, we have written some things, which we may wish never to have thought on. Some fallies of levity ought to be imputed to youth, (supposed in charity, as it was in truth, to be the time in which we wrote them;) others to the gaiety of our minds at certain junctures common to all men. The publishing of these, which we cannot disown, and without our consent, is, I think, a greater injury, than that of ascribing to us the most stupid productions, which we can wholly deny.

This

This has been usually practised in other countries after a man's decease; which, in a great measure, accounts for the manifest *inequality* found in the works of the best authors; the collectors only considering, that so many more sheets raise the price of the book; and the greater fame a writer is in possession of, the more of such trash he may bear to have tacked to him. Thus, it is apparently the editor's interest to insert what the author's judgment had rejected; and care is always taken to intersperse these additions in such a manner, that scarce any book of consequence can be bought without purchasing something unworthy of the author along with it.

But in our own country, it is still worse: those very booksellers, who have supported themselves upon an author's fame while he lived, have done their utmost, after his death, to lessen it by such practices: even a man's last *will* is not secure from being exposed in print; whereby his most particular regards, and even his dying tendernesses are laid open. It has been humorously said, that some have fished the very jakes for papers left there by men of wit: but it is no jest to affirm, that the cabinets of the sick, and the closets of the dead, have been broke open and ransacked to publish our *private letters*, and divulge to all mankind the most secret sentiments and intercourse of friendship. Nay, these fellows are arrived to that height of impudence, that when an author has publickly disowned a spurious piece,

they have disputed his own name with him in printed advertisements; which has been practised to Mr. Congreve and Mr. Prior.

We are therefore compelled, in respect to truth, to submit to a very great hardship; to own such pieces as, in our stricter judgments, we would have suppressed for ever: we are obliged to confess, that this whole collection, in a manner, consists of what we not only thought unlikely to reach the future, but unworthy even of the *present* age; not our studies, but our follies; not our works, but our idlenesses.

Some comfort, however, it is, that all of them are innocent, and most of them, slight as they are, had yet a moral tendency, either to soften the virulence of parties against each other, or to laugh out of countenance some vice or folly of the time; or to discredit the impositions of quacks, and false pretenders to science, or to humble the arrogance of the ill-natured and envious; in a word, to lessen the *vanity*, and promote the *good-humour* of mankind.

Such as they are, we must in truth confess, they are *ours*, and others should in justice believe, they are *all* that are *ours*. If any thing else has been printed, in which we really had any hand, it is either intolerably imperfect, or loaded with spurious additions; sometimes even with insertions of mens names, which we never meant, and for whom we have an esteem and respect. Even those pieces, in which we are least injured,
have

have never before been printed from the true copies, or with any tolerable degree of correctness. We declare, that this collection contains every piece, which in the idlest humour we have written; not only such as came under our review or correction, but many others, which, however unfinished, are not now in our power to suppress. Whatsoever was in our own possession at the publishing hereof, or of which no copy was gone abroad, we have actually destroyed, to prevent all possibility of the like treatment.

The volumes likewise will contain all the papers, wherein we have casually had any share; particularly those written in conjunction with our friends, Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Gay; and lastly, all of this sort composed singly by either of those hands. The reader is therefore desired to do the same justice to these our friends, as to us; and to be assured, that all the *things*, called our *miscellanies*, (except the works of Alexander Pope, published by B. Lintot, in *quarto* and *folio*, in 1717; those of Mr. Gay, by J. Tonson, in *quarto*, in 1720; and as many of these miscellanies as have been formerly printed by Benj. Tooke) are absolutely spurious, and, without our consent, imposed upon the public.

Twickenham,
May 27, 1727.

JONATH. SWIFT.
ALEX. POPE.

A DIS-

A D I S C O U R S E
OF THE
CONTESTS AND DISSENSIONS
between the NOBLES and the COMMONS in
Athens and *Rome*; with the Consequences they
had upon both those States. *

— *Si tibi vera videtur,
Dede manus; et, si falsa est, accingere contra.*

LUCRET.

Written in the year 1701.

C H A P. I.

IT is agreed, that in all government there is an absolute unlimited power, which naturally and originally seems to be placed in the whole body, wherever the executive part of it lies. This holds in the body natural; for, wherever we place

* This discourse is a kind of remonstrance in behalf of King William and his friends, against the proceedings of the House of Commons; and was published during the recess of parliament in the summer of 1701, with a view to engage them in milder measures when they should meet again.

At this time, Lewis XIV. was making large strides towards universal monarchy; plots were carrying on at St. Germain; the Dutch had acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain, and King William was made extremely uneasy, by the violence with which many of his ministers and chief favourites were pursued by the Commons. The King, to appease their resentment, had made several changes in his ministry, and removed some of his

place the beginning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal spirits in general, the body moves and acts by a consent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the best legislators of all ages have endeavoured, in their several schemes or institutions of government, to deposite in such hands as would preserve the people from rapine and oppression within, as well as violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this, that it was a trust too great to be committed to any one man or assembly, and therefore they left the right still in the whole body; but the administration, or executive part, in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*, into which three powers, all independent bodies of men, seem

his most faithful servants from places of the highest trust and dignity. This expedient, however, had proved ineffectual, and the Commons persisted in their opposition; they began by impeaching William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, groom of the stole; and proceeded to the impeachment of John Somers, Baron Somers of Evesham, first lord-keeper, afterwards lord chancellor; Edward Russell, Earl of Orford, lord treasurer of the navy, and one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty; and Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, one of the commissioners of the treasury, and afterwards chancellor of the exchequer. Its general purport is, to damp the warmth of the commons, by shewing, that the measures they pursued, had a direct tendency to bring on the tyranny, which they professed to oppose; and the particular cases of the impeached lords are paralleled in Athenian characters. *Hawkes.*

This whole treatise is full of historical knowledge, and excellent reflections. It is not mixed with any improper sallies of wit, or any light airs of humour; and, in point of style and learning, is equal, if not superior, to any of Swift's political works. *Orrery.*

seem naturally to divide; for, by all I have read of those innumerable and petty commonwealths in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, as well as the great ones of Carthage and Rome, it seems to me, that a free people met together, whether by *compact*, or *family-government*, as soon as they fall into any acts of civil society, do of themselves divide into three powers. The first is that of some one eminent spirit, who, having signalized his valour and fortune in defence of his country, or, by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preside, after a sort, in their civil assemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of nature and common reason, which, in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, do rather incite us to fly for counsel or assistance to a single person, than a multitude. The second natural division of power, is of such men, who have acquired large possessions, and consequently dependencies, or descend from ancestors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. These easily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon measures for securing their properties, which are best upheld by preparing against invasions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council or senate of nobles, for the weighty affairs of the nation. The last division is of the mass or body of the people, whose part of power is great and indisputable, when

whenever they can unite either collectively, or by deputation, to exert it. Now, the three forms of government, so generally known in the schools, differ only by the civil administration being placed in the hands of one, or sometimes two, (as in Sparta) who were called *Kings*; or in a senate, who were called the *Nobles*; or in the people collective or representative, who may be called the *Commons*. Each of these had frequently the executive power in Greece, and sometimes in Rome: but the power, in the last resort, was always meant by legislators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics, among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every state within itself, as well as among several states with each other.

The true meaning of a balance of power, either without or within a state, is best conceived, by considering what the nature of a balance is. It supposes three things: First, the part which is held, together with the hand that holds it; and then the two scales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now, consider several states in a neighbourhood; in order to preserve peace between these states, it is necessary they should be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the rest into equal scales, and, upon occasion, remove from one into the other, or else fall with their own weight into the lightest; so in a state within itself, the balance must be held by a third hand, who is to deal

deal the remaining power with the utmost exactness into the several scales. Now, it is not necessary, that the power should be equally divided between these three; for the balance may be held by the weakest, who, by his address and conduct, removing from either scale, and adding of his own, may keep the scales duly poised. Such was that of the two kings of Sparta, the consular power in Rome, that of the kings of Media before the reign of Cyrus, as represented by Xenophon, and that of the several limited states in the Gothic institution.

When the balance is broken, whether by the negligence, folly, or weakness of the hand that held it, or by mighty weights fallen into either scale, the power will never continue long in equal division between the two remaining parties, but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run entirely into one. This gives the truest account of what is understood in the most ancient and approved Greek authors by the word *tyranny*, which is not meant for the seizing of the uncontrolled or absolute power into the hands of a single person, (as many superficial men have grossly mistaken,) but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one scale; for *tyranny* and *usurpation* in a state, are by no means confined to any number, as might easily appear from examples enow; and, because the point is material, I shall cite a few to prove it.

The Romans, * having sent to Athens, and the
Greek

* Dionys. Hal. lib. 10.

Greek cities of Italy, for the copies of the best laws, chose ten legislators to put them into form; and, during the exercise of their office, suspended the consular power, leaving the administration of affairs in their hands. These very men, though chosen for such a work, as the digesting a body of laws for the government of a free state, did immediately usurp arbitrary power; ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and spies, after the practice of the tyrants of those ages, affected kingly state, destroyed the nobles, and oppressed the people; one of them proceeding so far, as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue: the very crime, which gave occasion to the expulsion of the regal power but sixty years before, as this attempt did to that of the Decemviri.

The Ephori in Sparta, were at first only certain persons deputed by the kings to judge in civil matters, while *they* were employed in the wars. These men, at several times, usurped the absolute authority, and were as cruel tyrants, as any in their age.

Soon * after the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, the Athenians chose four hundred men for administration of affairs, who became a body of tyrants, and were called, in the language of those ages, an *oligarchy*, or tyranny of the *few*; under which hateful denomination they were soon after deposed in great rage by the people.

When † Athens was subdued by Lyfander, he appointed thirty men for the administration of

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that

* Thucyd. lib. 8.

† Xenoph. de Rebus Græc. lib. 2.

that city, who immediately fell into the rankest tyranny: but this was not all; for, conceiving their power not founded on a *basis* large enough, they admitted three thousand into a share of the government; and thus fortified, became the cruellest tyranny upon record. They murdered, in cold blood, great numbers of the best men, without any provocation, from the mere lust of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula. This was such a number of tyrants together, as amounted to near a third part of the whole city; for Xenophon tells us,* that the city contained about ten thousand houses; and, allowing one man to every house, who could have any share in the government, (the rest consisting of women, children, and servants) and making other obvious abatements, these tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a majority even of the people collective.

In the time of the second Punic war, † the balance of power in Carthage was got on the side of the people, and this to a degree, that some authors reckon the government to have been then among them a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the commons*; which it seems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at last among the causes that ruined their state: and the frequent murders of their generals, which, Diodorus ‡ tells us, was grown to an established custom among them, may be another instance, that tyranny is not confined to numbers.

I shall

* Memorab. lib. 3.

† Polyb. Frag. lib. 6.

‡ Lib. 20.

I shall mention but one example more, among a great number that might be produced; it is related by the author last cited. * The orators of the people at Argos (whether you will style them, in modern phrase, *great speakers of the house*, or only, in general, representatives of the people collective) stirred up the commons against the nobles, of whom 1600 were murdered at once; and at last, the orators themselves, because they left off their accusations, or, to speak intelligibly, because they *withdrew their impeachments*; having, it seems, raised a spirit they were not able to lay. And this last circumstance, as cases have lately stood, may perhaps be worth noticing.

From what hath been already advanced, several conclusions may be drawn:

1st, That a mixed government, partaking of the known forms received in the schools, is by no means of Gothic invention, but hath place in nature and reason; seems very well to agree with the sentiments of most legislators, and to have been followed in most states, whether they have appeared under the name of monarchies, aristocracies, or democracies: for, not to mention the several republics of this composition in Gaul and Germany, described by Cæsar and Tacitus, Polybius tells us, the best government is that which consists of three forms, *regno, optimatum, et populi imperio*; † which may be fairly translated, the *King, Lords, and Commons*. Such was that of Sparta, in its primitive institution by Lycurgus;

U 2

who,

* Polyb. Frag. lib. 15.

† Lib. 6.

who, observing the corruptions and depravations to which every of these was subject, compounded his scheme out of all; so that it was made up of *reges, seniores, et populus*. Such also was the state of Rome under its consuls: and the author tells us, that the Romans fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reason) but the Spartans by thought and design. And such at Carthage was the *summa reipublica*, * or power in the last resort; for they had their kings called *suffetes*, and a senate which had the power of *nobles*, and the people had a share established too.

2dly, It will follow, that those reasoners, who employ so much of their zeal, their wit, and their leisure, for the upholding the balance of power in Christendom, at the same time that, by their practices, they are endeavouring to destroy it at home, are not such mighty patriots, or so much in the true interest of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but seem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand, what he has been building with his left.

3dly, This makes appear the error of those who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power is always safer lodged in many hands, than in one: for, if these many hands be made up only from one of the three divisions before mentioned, it is plain, from those examples already produced, and easy to be paralleled in other

* Polyb. Frag. lib. 6.

ther ages and countries, that they are as capable of enslaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppression, as it is possible for a single person to be, though we should suppose their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thousand.

Again, It is manifest, from what has been said, that, in order to preserve the balance in a mixed state, the limits of power deposited with each party, ought to be ascertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cause that introduces those strugglings in a state about *prerogative* and *liberty*, about encroachments of the *few* upon the rights of the *many*, and of the *many* upon the privileges of the *few*, which ever did, and ever will conclude in a tyranny; first, either of the *few*, or the *many*, but at last infallibly of a single person: for, whichever of the three divisions in a state is upon the scramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is) unless due care be taken by the other two, upon every new question that arises, they will be sure to decide in favour of themselves, talk much of inherent right; they will nourish up a dormant power, and reserve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occasions, to serve expedients, and to urge upon necessities; they will make large demands, and scanty concessions, ever coming off considerable gainers: thus, at length, the balance is broke, and tyranny let in; from which door of the three, it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* right, upon any occasion

caſion whatſoever, is little leſs than to make uſe of the whole power ; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been conteſted, or, perhaps, never ſtarted at all, before ſuch an incident brought it on the ſtage. Not to conſent to the enacting of ſuch a law, which has no view beſides the general good, unleſs another law ſhall at the ſame time paſs, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone ; what is this, but to claim a poſitive voice, as well as a negative ? To pretend, that great changes* and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and conſequently new additions of power, as ſome reaſoners have done, is a moſt dangerous tenet. If dominion muſt follow property, let it follow in the ſame place ; for, change in property, through the bulk of a nation, makes flow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude, that, whatever attempt is begun by an aſſembly, ought to be purſued to the end, without regard to the greateſt incidents that may happen to alter the caſe ; to count it mean, and below the *dignity of a houſe*, to quit a proſecution ; to reſolve upon a concluſion, before it is poſſible to be apprized of the premiſes : to act thus, I ſay, is to affect not only abſolute power, but infallibility

* This ſeems to allude to a practice of the houſe of Commons, called *Tacking* : when they ſuſpected that a favourite bill would be rejected, they tacked it to a money-bill ; and, as it was not poſſible to proceed without the ſupply, and as it became neceſſary to reject or receive both the bills thus tacked together, this expedient perfectly answered its purpoſe. *Hawkeſ.*

ty too. Yet, such unaccountable proceedings as these, have popular assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of *power* and *privilege*.

Great changes may, indeed, be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held: but large intervals of time must pass between every such innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the constitution. Such, we are told, were the proceedings of Solon, when he modelled anew the Athenian commonwealth; and what convulsions in our own, as well as other states, have been bred by a neglect of this rule, is fresh and notorious enough: it is too soon, in all conscience, to repeat this error again.

Having shewn, that there is a natural balance of power in all free states, and how it hath been divided, sometimes by the people themselves, as in Rome, at others by the institutions of the legislators, as in the several states of Greece and Sicily; the next thing is, to examine, what methods have been taken to break or overthrow this balance, which every one of the three parties hath continually endeavoured, as opportunities have served; as might appear from the stories of most ages and countries: for absolute power, in a particular state, is of the same nature with universal monarchy in several states adjoining to each other. So endless and exorbitant are the desires of men, whether considered in their persons or their states, that they will grasp at all, and can form no scheme of perfect happiness with less.

less. Ever since men have been united into governments, the hopes and endeavours after universal monarchy, have been bandied among them, from the reign of Ninus to this of the Most Christian King; in which pursuits, commonwealths have had their share, as well as monarchs: so the Athenians, the Spartans, the Thebans, and the Achaians, did several times aim at the universal monarchy of Greece: so the commonwealths of Carthage and Rome affected the universal monarchy of the then known world. In like manner, hath absolute power been pursued by the several parties of each particular state; wherein single persons have met with most success, though the endeavours of the *few* and the *many* have been frequent enough; yet, being neither so uniform in their designs, nor so direct in their views, they neither could manage nor maintain the power they had got; but were ever deceived by the popularity and ambition of some single person. So that it will be always a wrong step in policy, for the Nobles or Commons to carry their endeavours after power so far, as to overthrow the balance; and it would be enough to damp their warmth in such pursuits, if they could once reflect, that, in such a course, they will be sure to run upon the very rock that they meant to avoid; which, I suppose, they would have us think, is the tyranny of a single person.

Many examples might be produced, of the endeavours of each of these three rivals after absolute power; but I shall suit my discourse to the
time

time I am writing in, and relate only such diffensions in Greece and Rome, between the Nobles and Commons, with the consequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggressors.

I shall begin with Greece, where my observations shall be confined to Athens, though several instances might be brought from other states thereof.

C H A P. II.

Of the diffensions in ATHENS, between the few and the many.

THESEUS is the first, who is recorded, with any appearance of truth, to have brought the Grecians from a barbarous manner of life, among scattered villages, into cities; and to have established the *popular state* in Athens, assigning to himself the guardianship of the laws, and chief command in war. He was forced, after some time, to leave the Athenians to their own measures, upon account of their seditious temper, which ever continued with them, till the final dissolution of their government by the Romans. It seems, the country about Attica was the most barren of any in Greece; through which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conquest) but continued always Aborigines; and therefore, retained, through all revolutions, a tincture of that turbulent spirit, wherewith their government began. This institution
of

of Theseus, appears to have been rather a sort of mixed monarchy, than a popular state, and, for aught we know, might continue so during the series of kings till the death of Codrus. From this last prince, Solon was said to be descended; who, finding the people engaged in two violent factions of the poor and the rich, and in great confusion thereupon; refusing the monarchy, which was offered him, chose rather to cast the government after another model, wherein he made due provisions for settling the balance of power, chusing a Senate of four hundred, and disposing the magistracies and offices according to mens estates; leaving to the multitude their votes in electing, and the power of judging certain processes by appeal. This council of four hundred was chosen, one hundred out of each tribe, and seems to have been a body representative of the people, though the people collective reserved a share of power to themselves. It is a point of history perplexed enough; but thus much is certain, that the balance of power was provided for; else Pisistratus, called by authors the tyrant of Athens, could never have governed so peaceably as he did, without changing any of Solon's laws.* These several powers, together with that of the *archon* or chief magistrate, made up the form of government in Athens, at what time it began to appear upon the scene of action and story.

The first great man bred up under this institution,

* Herodot. lib. 1.

tion, was Miltiades, who lived about ninety years after Solon, and is reckoned to have been the first great captain, not only of Athens, but of all Greece. From the time of Miltiades to that of Phocion, who is looked upon as the last famous general of Athens, are about 180 years: after which, they were subdued and insulted by Alexander's captains, and continued, under several revolutions, a small truckling state, of no name or reputation, till they fell, with the rest of Greece, under the power of the Romans.

During this period from Miltiades to Phocion, I shall trace the conduct of the Athenians with relation to their dissensions between the people and some of their generals; who, at that time, by their power and credit in the army, in a warlike commonwealth, and often supported by each other, were, with the magistrates and other civil officers, a sort of counterpoise to the power of the people, who, since the death of Solon, had already made great encroachments. What these dissensions were, how founded, and what the consequences of them, I shall briefly and impartially relate.

I must here premise, that the Nobles in Athens, were not at this time a corporate assembly, that I can gather; therefore, the resentments of the Commons were usually turned against particular persons, and by way of articles of impeachment. Whereas, the Commons in Rome, and some other states, as will appear in a proper place, though they followed this method upon occasion,

occasion, yet generally pursued the enlargement of their power, by more set quarrels of one entire assembly against another. However, the custom of particular impeachments being not limited to former ages, any more than that of general struggles and dissensions between fixed assemblies of Nobles and Commons, and the ruin of Greece having been owing to the former, as that of Rome was to the latter, I shall treat on both expressly; that those states, who are concerned in either (if at least there be any such now in the world) may, by observing the means and issues of former dissensions, learn whether the causes are alike in theirs; and if they find them to be so, may consider whether they ought not justly to apprehend the same effects.

To speak of every particular person impeached by the Commons of Athens, within the compass designed, would introduce the history of almost every great man they had among them: I shall therefore take notice only of six, who, living in that period of time when Athens was at the height of its glory, as indeed it could not be otherwise, while such hands were at the helm; though *impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors*, such as *bribery, arbitrary proceedings, misapplying or embezzling public funds, ill conduct at sea*, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their country, as the preservers of it, and have had the veneration of all ages since paid justly to their memories.

Miltiades was one of the Athenian generals
against

against the Persian power, and the famous victory at Marathon was chiefly owing to his valour and conduct. Being sent, some time after, to reduce the island Paros, he mistook a great fire at a distance for the fleet, and being no ways a match for them, set sail for Athens; at his arrival, he was *impeached* by the Commons for treachery, though not able to appear by reason of his wounds, fined 30,000 crowns, and died in prison. Though the consequences of this proceeding, upon the affairs of Athens, were no other than the untimely loss of so great and good a man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

Their next great man was Aristides. * Besides the mighty service he had done his country in the wars, he was a person of the strictest justice, and best acquainted with the laws, as well as forms of their government, so that he was in a manner Chancellor of Athens. This man, upon a slight and false accusation, of *favouring arbitrary power*, was banished by *ostracism*; which, rendered into modern English, would signify, that they voted, *he should be removed from their presence and council for ever*. But, however, they had the wit to recal him, and to that action owed the preservation of their state, by his future services. For it must be still confessed in behalf of the Athenian people, that they never conceived themselves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the heights of *modern assemblies*, to make *obstinacy*

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confirm

* Lord Somers. He was the general patron of the *literati*, and the particular friend of Dr. Swift. *Orrery*,

confirm what *sudden heat* and *temerity* began. They thought it not below the dignity of an assembly, to endeavour at correcting an ill step; at least to repent, though it often fell out too late.

Themistocles † was at first a Commoner himself: it was he that raised the Athenians to get their greatness at sea, which he thought to be the true and constant interest of that commonwealth; and the famous naval victory over the Persians, at Salamis, was owing to his conduct. It seems the people observed somewhat of haughtiness in his temper and behaviour, and therefore banished him for five years; but, finding some slight matter of accusation against him, they sent to seize his person, and he hardly escaped to the Persian court; from whence, if the love of his country had not surmounted its base ingratitude to him, he had many invitations to return at the head of the Persian fleet, and take a terrible revenge: but he rather chose a voluntary death.

The people of Athens impeached Pericles, *
for

† Earl of Orford. He had been considered in a manner as Lord High Admiral, the whole affairs of the navy having been committed to his charge. *Orrery*.

* Lord Halifax. He had a fine genius for poetry; and had employed his more youthful part of life in that science. He was distinguished by the name of *Mouſe Montague*, having ridiculed, jointly with Mat. Prior, Mr. Dryden's famous poem of the *Hind and Panther*. The parody is drawn from Horace's fable of the city mouse and country mouse. But afterwards, upon Mr. Montague's promotion to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Prior, with a good-humoured indignation at seeing his friend preferred, and himself neglected, concludes an epistle,
written

for *misapplying the public revenues to his own private use*. He had been a person of great deservings from the republic, was an *admirable speaker*, and very popular. *His accompts were confused*, and he could not then give them up; therefore, merely to divert that difficulty, and the consequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponnesian war, the longest that ever was known in Greece, and which ended in the utter ruin of Athens.

The same people, having resolved to subdue Sicily, sent a mighty fleet under the command of Nicias, Lyfimachus, and Alcibiades; the two former, persons of age and experience; the last, a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet set sail, it seems, one night, the stone images of Mercury, placed in several parts of the city, were all pared in the face: this action the Athenians interpreted for a design of destroying the popular state; and Alcibiades, having been formerly noted for the like frolicks and excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether conscious of his innocence, or assured of the secrecy, offered to come to his trial, before he went to his command; this the Athenians refused. But as soon as he was got to Sicily, they sent for him back, designing to take the advantage, and pro-

X 2

secute

written in the year 1698, to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq; with these three lines:

My friend Charles Montague's preferr'd,

Nor would I have it long observ'd,

That one *mouse* eats while *i'other's* starv'd.

Orrery.

fecute him in the abſence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful. It ſeems, he underſtood the reſentments of a popular aſſembly too well, to truſt them; and therefore, inſtead of returning, eſcaped to Sparta; where his deſires of revenge prevailing over his love to his country, he became its greateſt enemy. Meanwhile, the Athenians before Sicily, by the death of one commander, and the ſuperſtition, weakneſs, and perfect ill conduct of the other, were utterly deſtroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miſerable ſlaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, Alcibiades was recalled upon his own conditions, by the neceſſities of the people, and made Chief Commander at ſea and land; but his Lieutenant engaging againſt his poſitive orders, and being beaten by Lyſander, Alcibiades was again diſgraced, and baniſhed. However, the Athenians having loſt all ſtrength and heart, ſince their miſfortune at Sicily, and now deprived of the only perſon that was able to recover their loſſes, repent of their raſhneſs, and endeavour in vain for his reſtoration; the Perſian Lieutenant, to whoſe protection he fled, making him a ſacrifice to the reſentments of Lyſander, the general of the Lacedemonians, who now reduces all the dominions of the Athenians, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government; which, though again reſtored for ſome time by Thraſybulus (as their walls were rebuilt by Conon) yet here we muſt

date

date the fall of the Athenian greatness; the dominion and chief power in Greece, from that period to the time of Alexander the Great, which was about fifty years, being divided between the Spartans and Thebans; though Philip, Alexander's father (*the most Christian King* of that age) had indeed, some time before, begun to break in upon the republics of Greece, by conquest or bribery; particularly, *dealing large money among some popular orators*, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to Philipize.

In the time of Alexander and his captains, the Athenians were offered an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and being restored to their former state; but the wise turn they thought to give the matter, was by an impeachment and sacrifice of the author, to hinder the success. For, after the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, this Prince, designing the conquest of Athens, was prevented by Phocion * the Athenian General, then Ambassador from that state; who, by his great wisdom and skill at negotiations, diverted Alexander from his design, and restored the Athenians to his favour. The very same success he had with Antipater after Alexander's death, at which time the government was new regulated by Solon's laws: but Polyperchon, in hatred to Phocion, having, by order of the young King, whose governor he was, restored those whom Phocion had banished, the plot succeeded.

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Phocion

* The Earl of Portland. *Orrery.*

Phocion was accused by popular orators, and put to death.

Thus was the most powerful commonwealth of all Greece, after great degeneracies from the institution of Solon, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous, and inconstant humour of the people, which was never satisfied to see a general either *victorious* or *unfortunate*: such ill judges, as well as rewarders, have *popular assemblies* been, of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the circumstance which makes these examples of more importance, is, that this very power of the people in Athens, claimed so confidently for an *inherent right*, and insisted on as the *undoubted privilege of an Athenian born*, was the rankest encroachment imaginable, and the grossest degeneracy from the form that Solon left them. In short, their government was grown into a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the people*, who, by degrees, had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legislator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already said of that lawgiver, but more manifestly from a passage in Diodorus; who tells us, * *That Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, abrogated the popular government (in Athens,) and restored the power of suffrages and magistracy, to such only as were worth two thousand drachmas; by which means, says he, that republic came to be [again] administered by the laws of Solon.* By this quotation, it is manifest, that great au-
thor

* Lib. 18.

thor looked upon Solon's institution, and a popular government, to be two different things. And as for this restoration by Antipater, it had neither consequence nor continuance worth observing.

I might easily produce many more examples ; but these are sufficient : and it may be worth the reader's time, to reflect a little on the merits of the cause, as well as of the men who had been thus dealt with by their country. I shall direct him no further, than by repeating, that Aristides was the most renowned by the people themselves, for his exact *justice and knowledge in the law* ; that Themistocles was a most fortunate admiral, and had got a *mighty victory over the great King of Persia's fleet* ; that Pericles was an *able minister of state, an excellent orator, and a man of letters* : and lastly, that Phocion, besides the success of his arms, was also renowned for his *negociations abroad, having, in an embassy, brought the greatest monarch of the world at that time, to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preserved.*

I shall conclude my remarks upon Athens, with the character given us of that people by Polybius. *About this time, says he, the Athenians were governed by two men ; quite sunk in their affairs ; had little or no commerce with the rest of Greece, and were become great reverencers of crowned heads.*

For, from the time of Alexander's captains, till Greece was subdued by the Romans, to the latter part of which, this description of Polybius falls

falls in, Athens never produced one famous man, either for councils or arms, or hardly for learning. And indeed, it was a dark insipid period through all Greece : for, except the Achaian league under Aratus and Philopœmen, and the endeavours of Agis and Cleomenes, to restore the state of Sparta, so frequently harassed by tyrannies, occasioned by the popular practices of the Ephori, there was very little worth recording. All which consequences may perhaps be justly imputed to this degeneracy of Athens.

C H A P. III.

Of the dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians in Rome, with the consequences they had upon that state.

HAVING, in the foregoing chapter, confined myself to the proceedings of the Commons only, by the method of *impeachments* against particular persons, with the fatal effects they had upon the state of Athens; I shall now treat of the dissensions at Rome between the people and the collective body of the Patricians or Nobles. It is a large subject, but I shall draw it into as narrow a compass as I can.

As Greece, from the most ancient accounts we have of it, was divided into several kingdoms, so was most part of Italy * into several petty commonwealths. And as those kings in Greece are said

* Dionys. Halicar.

said to have been despoſed by their people upon the ſcore of their arbitrary proceedings, ſo, on the contrary, the commonwealths of Italy were all ſwallowed up, and concluded in the tyranny of the Roman emperors. However, the differences between thoſe Grecian monarchies, and Italian republics, were not very great: for, by the accounts Homer gives us of thoſe Grecian princes who came to the ſiege of Troy, as well as by ſeveral paſſages in the *Odſſey*, it is manifeſt, that the power of theſe princes, in their ſeveral ſtates, was much of a ſize with that of the kings in Sparta, the archon at Athens, the ſuffetes at Carthage, and the conſuls in Rome: ſo that a limited and divided power ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and inherent principles of both thoſe people, in matters of government. And ſuch did that of Rome continue from the time of Romulus, though with ſome interruptions, to Julius Cæſar, when it ended in the tyranny of a ſingle perſon. During which period (not many years longer than from the Norman conqueſt to our age) the Commons were growing, by degrees, into power and property, gaining ground upon the Patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at laſt they quite overturned the balance, leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who deſtroyed the wiſeſt republic, and enſlaved the nobleſt people, that ever entered upon the ſtage of the world. By what ſteps and degrees this was brought to paſs, ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent enquiry.

While

While Rome was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. Romulus himself, when he had built the city, was declared King by the universal consent of the people, and by augury, which was there understood for divine appointment. Among other divisions he made of the people, one was into Patricians and Plebeians: the former were like the barons of England some time after the conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our Commons were then. For they were dependents upon the Patricians, whom they chose for their patrons and protectors, to answer for their appearance, and defend them in any process: they also supplied their patrons with money, in exchange for their protection. This custom of *patronage*, it seems, was very ancient, and long practised among the Greeks.

Out of these Patricians, Romulus chose an hundred to be a *senate*, or *grand council*, for advice and assistance to him in the administration. The senate, therefore, originally consisted all of *nobles*, and were of themselves a *standing council*, the *people* being only convoked upon such occasions, as, by this institution of Romulus, fell into their cognizance: those were to constitute magistrates, to give their voices for making laws, and to advise upon entering on a war. But the two former of these popular privileges, were to be confirmed by authority of the senate; and the last was only permitted at the King's pleasure. This was the utmost extent of power pretended to by the Commons,

mons, in the time of Romulus; all the rest being divided between the King and the senate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the constitution of England, for some centuries after the conquest.

After a year's *interregnum* from the death of Romulus, the senate, of their own authority, chose a successor, and a stranger, merely upon the fame of his virtue, without asking the consent of the Commons; which custom they likewise observed in the two following kings. But, in the election of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King, we first here mentioned, that it was done *populi impetrata venia*; which indeed was but very reasonable for a free people to expect; though I cannot remember, in my little reading, by what incidents they were brought to advance so great a step. However it were, this Prince, in gratitude to the people, by whose consent he was chosen, elected a hundred senators out of the commons, whose number, with former additions, was now amounted to three hundred.

The people having once discovered their own strength, did soon take occasion to exert it, and that by very great degrees. For, at this King's death, who was murdered by the sons of a former, being at a loss for a successor, Servius Tullius, a stranger, and of mean extraction, was chosen protector of the kingdom by the *people*, without the consent of the senate; at which the nobles being displeased, he wholly applied himself to gratify the Commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector, but King.

This

This prince first introduced the custom of giving freedom to servants, so as to become citizens of equal privileges with the rest, which very much contributed to increase the power of the *people*.

Thus, in a very few years, the commons proceeded so far, as to wrest, even the power of chusing a king, entirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was so great a leap, and caused such a convulsion and struggle in the state, that the constitution could not bear it; but civil dissensions arose, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a single person, as this was by the utter subversion of the regal government, and by a settlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, spighted at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, deposed this Prince by plain force, and chose Tarquin the Proud; who, running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled, by an universal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miseries of his reign had reconciled.

When the consular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and plebeians was fixed anew: the two first Consuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons; and a law was enacted, that no person should bear any magistracy in Rome, *injussu populi*, that is, *without consent of the Commons*.

In such turbulent times as these, many of the poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts, either to the richer sort among themselves, or to
senators

senators and other nobles: and the case of debtors in Rome, for the first four * centuries, was, after the set time for payment, no choice, but either to pay, or be the creditor's slave. In this juncture, the commons leave the city in mutiny and discontent, and will not return, but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts; and, moreover, that certain magistrates be chosen yearly, whose business it shall be, to defend the commons from injuries. These are called *tribunes* of the people; their persons are held sacred and inviolable; and the people bind themselves, by oath, never to abrogate the office. By these Tribunes, in process of time, the people were grossly imposed on, to serve the turns and occasions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit such exorbitancies as could not end, but in the dissolution of the government.

These Tribunes, a year or two after their institution, kindled great dissensions between the nobles and the commons, on the account of Coriolanus, a nobleman, whom the latter had *impeached*, and the consequences of whose impeachment (if I had not confined myself to Grecian examples, for that part of my subject) had like to have been so fatal to their state. And, from this time, the Tribunes began a custom of accusing to the people whatever nobles they pleased, several of whom were banished, or put to death, in every age.

At this time, the Romans were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring states;

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but,

* Ab urbe condita. *From the building of the city.*

but, upon the least intervals of peace, the quarrels between the nobles and the Plebeians would revive; and one of the most frequent subjects of their differences was the *conquered lands*, which the commons would fain have divided among the public; but the senate could not be brought to give their consent: for several of the wisest among the nobles, began to apprehend the growing power of the people; and, therefore, knowing what an accession thereof would accrue to them, by such an addition of property, used all means to prevent it: for this, the Appian family was most noted, and thereupon most hated, by the commons. One of them having made a speech against this division of lands, was impeached by the people, of high treason, and a day appointed for his trial; but, disdaining to make his defence, he chose rather the usual Roman remedy, of killing himself: after whose death, the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

This point was no sooner gained, but new dissensions began: for the plebeians would fain have a law enacted, to lay all mens rights and privileges upon the same level; and to enlarge the power of every magistrate within his own jurisdiction, as much as that of the consuls. The tribunes, also, obtained to have their number doubled, which, before, was five: and the author tells us*, that their insolence and power encreased with their number, and the seditions were also doubled with it.

By

* Dionys. Halicar.

By the beginning of the fourth century from the building of Rome, the tribunes proceeded so far, in the name of the commons, as to accuse and fine the consuls themselves, who represented the kingly power. And the senate observing, how, in all contentions, they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wisest course to give way also to time; therefore, a decree was made, to send ambassadors to Athens, and to the other Grecian commonwealths, planted in that part of Italy called Græcia Major, to make a collection of the best laws; out of which, and some of their own, a new complete body of law was formed, afterwards known by the name of the *laws of the twelve tables*.

To digest these laws into order, ten men were chosen, and the administration of all affairs left in their hands; what use they made of it, has been already shewn. It was, certainly, a great revolution, produced entirely by the many unjust encroachments of the people; and might have wholly changed the fate of Rome, if the folly and vice of those, who were chiefly concerned, could have suffered it to take root.

A few years after, the commons made farther advances on the power of the nobles; demanding, among the rest, that the consulship, which, hitherto, had only been disposed to the former, should now ly in common, to the pretensions of any Roman whatsoever. This, though it failed at present, yet afterwards obtained, and was a mighty step to the ruin of the commonwealth.

What I have hitherto said of Rome, has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent writer, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, whose history, through the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of Rome. The rest I shall supply from other authors; though I do not think it necessary to deduce this matter any further, so very particularly as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was most equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in Rome, would, perhaps, admit a controversy. Polybius tells us*, that, in the second Punic war, the Carthaginians were declining, because the balance was got too much on the side of the people; whereas the Romans were in the greatest vigour, by the power remaining in the senate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period Dionysius ends with; in which time, the commons had made several further acquisitions. This, however, must be granted, that (till about the middle of the fourth century) when the senate appeared resolute, at any time, upon exerting their authority, and adhering closely together, they did often carry their point. Besides, it is observed, by the best authors, † that, in all the quarrels and tumults at Rome, from the expulsion of the kings, though the people frequently proceeded to rude, contumelious language, and sometimes so far as to pull and hale one another about the Forum, yet no blood was

* Fragm. lib. 6.

† Dionys. Halicar. Plut. &c.

was ever drawn in any popular commotions, till the time of the Gracchi: however, I am of opinion, that the balance had begun, many years before, to lean to the popular side. But this default was corrected, partly by the principle just mentioned, of never drawing blood in a tumult; partly by the warlike genius of the people, which, in those ages, was almost perpetually employed; and partly by their great commanders, who, by the credit they had in their armies, fell into the scales, as a further counterpoise to the growing power of the people. Besides, Polybius, who lived in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger, had the same apprehensions of the continual encroachments made by the commons; and, being a person of as great abilities, and as much sagacity, as any of his age, from observing the corruptions, which, he says, had already entered into the Roman constitution, did very nearly foretell what would be the issue of them. His words are very remarkable, and, with little addition, may be rendered to this purpose: *That those abuses and corruptions, which, in time, destroy a government, are sown along with the very seeds of it, and both grow up together; and that, as rust eats away iron, and worms devour wood, and both are a sort of plagues, born and bred along with the substance they destroy; so, with every form and scheme of government that man can invent, some vice or corruption creeps in with the very institution, which grows up along with, and at last destroys it**. The

Y 3

same

* Fragm. lib. 5.

same author, in another place †, ventures so far as to guess at the particular fate, which would attend the Roman government. He says, its ruin would arise from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people; wherein, it is certain, he had reason; and, therefore, might have ventured to pursue his conjectures, so far, as to the consequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a single person.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of Rome, it was declared lawful for *nobles* and *plebeians* to intermarry; which custom, among many other states, has proved the most effectual means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now, the greatest employments in the state, were, one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the *commons*, made free to the people; the Consulship itself, the office of Censor, that of the Quæstors, or Commissioners of the Treasury, the office of Prætor, or Chief Justice, the Priesthood, and even that of Dictator; the senate, after long opposition, yielding, merely for present quiet, to the continual urging clamours of the *commons*, and of the *tribunes*, their advocates. A law was likewise enacted, that the *plebiscita*, or a vote of the house of Commons, should be of universal obligation; nay, in time, the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted: for, whereas the senate

† Fragm. lib. 6.

nate used, of old, to confirm the *plebiscita*, the people did at last, as they pleased, confirm or disannul the *senatusconsulta* ‡.

Appius Claudius brought in a custom, of admitting to the senate the sons of freed men, or of such who had once been slaves; by which, and succeeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a most corrupt and factious body of men, divided against itself; and its authority became despised.

The century and half following, to the end of the third Punic war, by the destruction of Carthage, was a very busy period at Rome; the intervals between every war being so short, that the *tribunes* and *people* had hardly leisure or breath to engage in domestic dissensions: however, the little time they could spare, was generally employed the same way. So Terentius Leo, a *tribune*, is recorded to have basely prostituted the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, in perfect spight to the *nobles*. So the great African Scipio, and his brother, after all their mighty services, were impeached by an ungrateful *commons*.

However, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, served to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the Gracchi.

These persons, entering the scene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people, by reducing into practice, all those encroachments, which they had been so
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‡ Dionys. Lib. 2.

many years gaining. There were at that time certain *conquered lands* to be divided, beside a *great private estate left by a king* : these, the *tribunes*, by procurement of the elder Gracchus, declared, by their legislative authority, were not to be disposed of by the *nobles*, but by the *commons* only. The younger brother pursued the same design; and besides, obtained a law, that all Italians should vote at elections, as well as the citizens of Rome: in short, the whole endeavours of them both, perpetually turned upon retrenching the *nobles* authority in all things, but especially in the matter of *judicature*. And though they both lost their lives in those pursuits, yet they traced out such ways, as were afterwards followed by Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæsar, to the ruin of the Roman freedom and greatness.

For in the time of Marius Saturninus, a tribune procured a law, that the senate should be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people would enact: and Marius himself, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have, with great industry, used all endeavours for depressing the *nobles*, and raising the people, particularly for cramping the former in their *power of judicature*, which was *their most ancient inherent right*.

Sylla, by the same measures, became absolute tyrant of Rome: he added three hundred commons to the senate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual; then, flinging off the mask, he abolished the office
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of tribune, as being only a scaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no further use.

As to Pompey and Cæsar, Plutarch tells us, that their union for pulling down the *nobles* (by their credit with the people) was the cause of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter; both of them, in their consulships, having used all endeavours and occasions for sinking the authority of the *patricians*, and giving way to all encroachments of the people, wherein they expected best to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular encroachments in Rome, the reader will easily judge, how much the balance was fallen upon that side. Indeed, by this time, the very foundation was removed; and it was a moral impossibility, that the republic could subsist any longer: for the *commons*, having usurped the offices of state, and trampled on the senate, there was no government left but a *dominatio plebis*. Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is an universal truth, that the people are much more dexterous at pulling down and setting up, than at preserving what is fixed; and they are not fonder of seizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worst bidder*, with their own into the bargain. For although, in their corrupt notions of divine worship, they are apt to multiply their gods; yet their earthly devotion is seldom paid to above one idol at a time, of their own creation, whose *oar* they pull with less murmuring, and much more skill,

skill, than when they *share the lading*, or even *hold the helm*.

The several provinces of the Roman empire were now governed by the great men of their state; those upon the frontiers, with powerful armies, either for conquest or defence. These governors, upon any designs of revenge or ambition, were sure to meet with a divided power at home, and therefore bent all their thoughts and applications to close in with the people, who were now by many degrees the stronger party. Two of the greatest spirits that Rome ever produced, happened to live at the same time, and to be engaged in the same pursuit; and this at a conjuncture the most dangerous for such a contest: these were Pompey and Cæsar, two stars of such a magnitude, that their *conjunction* was as likely to be fatal, as their *opposition*.

The *tribunes* and people, having now subdued all competitors, began the last game of a prevalent populace, which is that of chusing themselves a *master*; while the nobles foresaw, and used all endeavours left them to prevent it. The people, at first, made Pompey their Admiral, with full power over all the Mediterranean; soon after, Captain-General of all the Roman forces, and Governor of Asia. Pompey, on the other side, restored the office of *tribune*, which Sylla had put down; and, in his Consulship, procured a law for *examining into the miscarriages of men in office or command for twenty years past*. Many other examples of Pompey's popularity are left us on record,

record, who was a perfect favourite of the people, and designed to be more; but his pretensions grew stale, for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the stage. For Cæsar, with his legions in Gaul, was a perpetual check upon his designs; and in the arts of pleasing the people, did soon after get many lengths beyond him. For he tells us himself, that the senate, by a bold effort, having made some severe decrees against his proceedings, and against the tribunes, these all left the city, and went over to his party, and consequently, along with them, the affections and interests of the people; which is further manifest from the accounts he gives us of the citizens in several towns mutinying against their commanders, and delivering both to his devotion. Besides, Cæsar's public and avowed pretensions for beginning the civil war, were to restore the tribunes and the people, oppressed (as he pretended) by the *nobles*.

This forced Pompey, against his inclinations, upon the necessity of changing sides, for fear of being forsaken by both; and of closing in with the senate and chief magistrates, by whom he was chosen General against Cæsar.

Thus, at length, the *senate*, (at least the primitive part of them, the *nobles*) under Pompey, and the *commons* under Cæsar, came to a final decision of the long quarrels between them. For, I think, the ambition of private men, did, by no means, begin or occasion this war; though civil dissensions never fail of introducing and spiriting the
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the ambition of private men ; who thus become, indeed, the great instruments for deciding of such quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the prize. But, no man that sees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies ready to engage, can justly charge the blood drawn in the battle to them, though the carcases fall to their share. For, while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, gives neither danger nor fear, nor can possibly enslave their country ; but, that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head ; under whose conduct or fortune, one side is at first victorious, and at last both are slaves. And, to put it past dispute, that this entire subversion of the Roman liberty and constitution was altogether owing to those measures, which had broke the balance between the *patricians* and *plebeians*, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and consequence ; we need only consider, that, when the uncorrupted part of the senate had, by the death of Cæsar, made one great effort to restore their former state and liberty, the success did not answer their hopes ; but that whole assembly was so sunk in its authority, that those patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madness of the people, who, by their own dispositions, stirred up with the harangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon single and despotic slavery. Else, how could such a profligate as Antony, or a boy of eighteen, like Octavius, ever dare to dream
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of giving the law to such an empire and people? wherein the latter succeeded, and entailed the vilest tyranny, that heaven, in its anger, ever inflicted on a corrupt and poisoned people. And this, with so little appearance, at Cæsar's death, that, when Cicero wrote to Brutus, how he had prevailed, by his credit with Octavius, to promise him [Brutus] pardon and security for his person, that great Roman received the notice with the utmost indignity, and returned Cicero an answer, yet upon record, full of the highest resentment and contempt for such an offer, and from such a hand.

Here ended all shew or shadow of liberty in Rome. Here was the repository of all the wise contentions and struggles for power between the nobles and commons, lapped up safely in the bosom of a Nero and a Caligula, a Tiberius and a Domitian.

Let us now see, from this deduction of particular impeachments, and general dissensions in Greece and Rome, what conclusions may naturally be formed for the instruction of any other state, that may, haply, upon many points, labour under the like circumstances.

CH A P. IV.

UPON the subject of *impeachments*, we may observe, that the custom of accusing the nobles to the people, either by themselves or their orators, (now styled an *impeachment in the name of the commons*) hath been very ancient, both in Greece and Rome, as well as Carthage; and

therefore, may seem to be the inherent right of a free people, nay, perhaps it is really so: but then, it is to be considered, first, that this custom was peculiar to republics, or such states where the administration lay principally in the hands of the commons, and ever raged more or less, according to their encroachments upon absolute power; having been always looked upon, by the wisest men and best authors of those times, as an effect of licentiousness, and not of liberty; a distinction, which no multitude, either *represented* or *collective*, hath been, at any time, very nice in observing. However, perhaps this custom, in popular states, of impeaching particular men, may seem to be nothing else but the peoples chusing, upon occasion, to exercise their own jurisdiction in person; as if a king of England should sit as chief justice in his court of King's Bench; which, they say, in former times, he sometimes did. But in Sparta, which was called a kingly government, though the people were perfectly free, yet, because the administration was in the two kings and the *ephori*, with the assistance of the senate, we read of no impeachments by the people; nor was the process against great men, either upon account of ambition or ill conduct, though it reached sometimes to kings themselves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect; but only passed through those hands, where the administration lay. So likewise, during the regal government in Rome, though it was instituted a mixed monarchy, and the people made great advances in power, yet, I

do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons against a patrician, until the consular state began, and the people had made great encroachments upon the administration.

Another thing to be considered, is, that, allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they please, yet, if the commons have been perpetually mistaken in the merits of the causes and the persons, as well as in the consequences of such impeachments upon the peace of the state, we cannot conclude less, than that the commons in Greece and Rome (whatever they may be in other states) were by no means qualified, either as prosecutors or judges in such matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reserved these privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occasions, where the state is in apparent danger, the universal body of the people in clamours against the administration, and no other remedy in view. But, for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the score of *personal piques*; or *to employ the pride they conceive in seeing themselves at the head of a party*; or *as a method for advancement*; or *moved by certain powerful arguments that could make Demosthenes philippize*: for such men, I say, when the state would, of itself, gladly be quiet, and hath, besides, affairs of the last importance upon the anvil, to *impeach Miltiades**,

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after

* Though, in other passages, Lord Orford's character is supposed to be drawn under the name of Themistocles, yet he seems

after a great naval victory, for not pursuing the Persian fleet; to impeach Aristides, the person most versed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind suspicion of his acting in an arbitrary way (that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the people;) to impeach Pericles, after all his services, for a few inconsiderable accounts, or to impeach Phocion, who had been guilty of no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace and security of his country: what could the continuance of such proceedings end in, but the utter discouragement of all virtuous actions and persons, and consequently, in the ruin of a state? Therefore, the historians of those ages seldom fail to set this matter in all its lights, leaving us the highest and most honourable ideas of those persons, who suffered by the persecution of the people, together with the fatal consequences they had, and how the persecutors seldom failed to repent, when it was too late.

These impeachments, perpetually falling upon many of the best men, both in Greece and Rome, are a cloud of witnesses, and examples enow, to discourage men of virtue and abilities from engaging in the service of the public; and help, on the other side, to introduce the ambitious, the covetous, the superficial, and the ill-designing; who are as apt to be bold, and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modest, and reserved. This was so well known

seems to be represented by Miltiades here; for Themistocles was not impeached at all. See p. 242. Hawkes.

known in Greece, that an eagerness after employments in the state, was looked upon, by wise men, as the worst title a man could set up; and made Plato say, *That if all men were as good as they ought, the quarrel in a commonwealth would be, not as it is now, who should be minister of state, but who should not be so.* And Socrates* is introduced by Xenophon, severely chiding a friend of his, for not entering into the public service, when he was every way qualified for it: such a backwardness there was at that time among good men to engage with an usurping people, and a set of *pragmatical ambitious orators*. And Diodorus tells us†, that when the *petalism* was erected at Syracuse, in imitation of the *ostracism*‡ at Athens, it was so notoriously levelled against all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever possessed either, withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public affairs. So that the people themselves were forced to abrogate it, for fear of bringing all things into confusion.

There is one thing more to be observed,
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* Lib. Memorab.

† Lib. II.

‡ *Ostracism* was a kind of popular sentence to banishment, passed against men whose personal influence, from whatever cause, was thought to render them dangerous to the state: the votes were given by writing the name of the person on a shell, by the Greeks called *ὄστρακον*, and casting the shell into an urn.

Petalism was a sentence nearly of the same kind; and, as *ostracism* was denominated from the shell, on which the name of the suspected party was written, *petalism* took its name from *πίταλον*, a leaf, which the Syracusans used for the same purpose.
Hawkes.

wherein all the popular impeachments in Greece and Rome seem to have agreed; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned, in *point of honour*, to condemn whatever person they impeached, however frivolous the articles were, upon which they began, or however weak the surmises, whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive, that the body of the people could be mistaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the consequences had convinced them, when it was past remedy. And I look upon this as a fate, to which all popular accusations are subject; though I should think that the saying, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, ought to be understood of the universal bent and current of a people, not of the *bare majority* of a few representatives, which is often procured by *little arts*, and great industry and application; wherein those, who engage in the pursuits of malice and revenge, are much more sedulous than such as would prevent them.

From what hath been deduced of the *diffensions* in Rome, between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, several reflections may be made.

First, That when the balance of power is duly fixed in a state, nothing is more dangerous or unwise, than to give way to the *first steps* of popular encroachments; which is usually done, either in hopes of procuring ease and quiet from some vexatious clamour, or else *made merchandize*, and *merely bought and sold*. This is breaking into a constitution, to serve a present expedient, or supply

ply a present exigency: the remedy of an empiric, to stifle the present pain, but with certain prospect of sudden and terrible returns. When a child grows easy and content by being humoured, and when a lover becomes satisfied by small compliances, without further pursuits; then expect to find popular assemblies content with small concessions. If there could one single example be brought, from the whole compass of history, of any one popular assembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever sat down quietly with a certain share; or, if one instance could be produced, of a popular assembly that ever knew, or proposed, or declared what share of power was their due: then might there be some hopes, that it were a matter to be adjusted by reasonings, by conferences, or debates: but since that all is manifestly otherwise, I see no other course to be taken, in a settled state, than a steady, constant resolution in those, to whom the rest of the balance is entrusted, never to give way so far to popular clamours, as to make the least breach in the constitution, through which a million of abuses and encroachments will certainly in time force their way.

Again, from this deduction, it will not be difficult to gather and assign certain marks of popular encroachments; by observing of which, those who hold the balance in a state, may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a stop to the fatal consequences that would otherwise ensue. What those marks are, hath been

been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another consequence is this: That (with all respect for popular assemblies be it spoken) it is hard to recollect one folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a single man is subjected, and from which a body of commons, either collective or represented, can be wholly exempt. For, besides that they are composed of men, with all their infirmities about them, they have also the ill fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worst among themselves; I mean, *popular orators, tribunes, or, as they are now stiled, great speakers, leading men, and the like.* From whence it comes to pass, that, in their results, we have sometimes found the same spirit of cruelty and revenge, of malice and pride, the same blindness, and obstinacy, and unsteadiness, the same ungovernable rage and anger, the same injustice, sophistry, and fraud, that ever lodged in the breast of any individual.

Again, in all free states, the evil to be avoided, is *tyranny*; that is to say, the *summa imperii*, or unlimited power solely in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*. Now, we have shewn, that although most revolutions of government, in Greece and Rome, began with the tyranny of the people, yet they generally concluded in that of a single person; so that an usurping populace is its own *dupe*; a mere under-worker, and a purchaser in trust for some single tyrant, whose state and power they advance to their own ruin, with as blind an instinct, as those worms that die with
weaving

weaving magnificent habits for beings of a superior nature to their own.

C H A P. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are still so intricately engaged, gave occasion to this discourse. I am not conscious, that I have forced one example, or put it into any other light, than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude, without adding some particular remarks upon the present posture of affairs and dispositions in this kingdom.

The fate of empire is grown a common-place: that all forms of government, having been instituted by men, must be mortal, like their authors, and have their periods of duration limited, as well as those of private persons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and observation: but there are few who turn their thoughts to examine how those diseases in a state are bred, that hasten its end; which would, however, be a very useful enquiry. For, though we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of heaven, or the date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the strength of the seminal virtue; yet we may manage a sickly constitution, and preserve a strong one; we may watch and prevent accidents; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking

lurking within: and by these, and other such methods, render a state long-lived, though not immortal. Yet some physicians have thought, that if it were practicable, to keep the several humours of the body in an exact equal balance of each with its opposite, it might be immortal; and so, perhaps, would a political body, if the balance of power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impossible in practice as the other.

It hath an appearance of fatality, and that the period of a state approacheth, when a concurrence of many circumstances, both within and without, unite towards its ruin: while the whole body of the people are either stupidly negligent, or else giving in, with all their might, to those very practices that are working their destruction. To see whole bodies of men breaking a constitution, by the very same errors that so many have been broke before: to observe opposite parties, who can agree in nothing else, yet firmly united in such measures, as must certainly ruin their country: in short, to be encompassed with the greatest dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent factions within; then to be secure and senseless, under all this, and to make it the very least of our concern: these, and some others that might be named, appear to me to be the most likely symptoms, in a state, of a *sickness unto death*.

*Quod procul à nobis flectat fortuna gubernans:
Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.* LUCR.

There are some conjunctures, wherein the death

or

or dissolution of government, is more lamentable in its consequences, than it would be in others. And, I think, a state can never arrive to its period, in a more deplorable *crisis*, than at the time when some *prince in the neighbourhood*, of vast power and ambition, lies hovering, like a vulture, to devour, or, at least, dismember its dying carcase; by which means, it becomes only a province or acquisition to some mighty monarchy, without hopes of a resurrection.

I know very well, there is a set of sanguine tempers, who deride and ridicule, in the number of fopperies, all such apprehensions as these. They have it ready in their mouths, that the people of England are of a genius and temper never to admit slavery among them; and they are furnished with a great many common-places upon that subject. But it seems to me, that such discoursers do reason upon short views, and a very moderate compass of thought. For I think it a great error, to count upon the genius of a nation, as a standing argument in all ages; since there is hardly a spot of ground in Europe, where the inhabitants have not, frequently, and entirely, changed their temper and genius. Neither can I see any reason, why the genius of a nation should be more fixed in the point of government, than in their morals, their learning, their religion, their common humour and conversation, their diet, and their complexion; which do all notoriously vary, almost in every age, and may, every one of them, have great effects upon mens notions of government.

Since

Since the Norman conquest, the balance of power in England hath often varied, and sometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, (*that most disputed point*) in its original, progress, and extent, was, by their own confessions, but a very inconsiderable share. Generally speaking, they have been gaining ever since, though with frequent interruptions, and slow progress. The abolishing of *villanage*, together with the custom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles, of selling their lands in the reign of Henry VII. was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet, I think, a much greater happened in the time of his successor, at the dissolution of the abbeys; for this turned the *clergy* wholly out of the scale, who had so long filled it; and placed the *commons* in their stead; who, in a few years, became possessed of vast quantities of those and other lands, by grant or purchase. About the middle of Q. Elizabeth's reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or since. But then, or soon after, arose a faction in England, which, under the name of *puritan*, began to grow popular, by moulding up their new schemes of religion, with republican principles in government; and, gaining upon the *prerogative*, as well as the *nobles*, under several denominations, for the space of about sixty years, did at last overthrow the constitution; and, according to the usual course

of such revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, first of the people, and then of a single person.

In a short time after, the old government was revived. But the progress of affairs, for almost thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes, * is a subject of a very different nature; when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at last very seasonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talent of human nature, to run from one extreme to another, so in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative heights to the depths of popularity, and, I doubt, to the very last degree that our constitution will bear. It were to be wished, that the most august assembly of the commons would please to form a *pandect* of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legislative authority, and that in as solemn a manner (if they please) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compass wherever they think fit, and extend the other to such terrible lengths, without describing any circumference at all, is to leave us and themselves in a very uncertain state, and in a sort of *rotation*, that the author † of the

VOL. II.

A a

Oceana

* Charles II. and James II.

† Mr. James Harrington, some time in the service of King Charles I.; after whose death, he drew up, and printed a form of popular government, entitled, *The commonwealth of Oceana*: he endeavoured likewise to promote this scheme, by public discourses, at a nightly meeting of several curious gentlemen in New-Palace-yard, Westminster. This club was called the *Rota*; and

Mr.

Oceana never dreamed on. I believe, the most hardy tribune will not venture to affirm at present, that any just fears of encroachment are given us from the regal power, or the *few*: and, is it then impossible to err on the other side? How far must we proceed, or where shall we stop? *The raging of the sea, and the madness of the people,* are put together in holy writ; and it is God alone, who can say to either, *Hitherto shalt thou pass, and no further.*

The balance of power in a limited state, is of such absolute necessity, that Cromwell himself, before he had perfectly confirmed his tyranny, having some occasions for the appearance of a parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new House of Lords, such as it was, for a counterpoise to the Commons. And indeed, considering the vileness of the clay, I have sometimes wondered, that no tribune of that age durst ever venture to ask the *potter*, *What dost thou make?* But it was then about the last act of a popular usurpation; and *fate*, or *Cromwell*, had already prepared them for that of a single person.

I have been often amazed at the rude, passionate, and mistaken results, which have, at certain times, fallen from great assemblies, both ancient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own. This gave me the opinion, I mentioned

Mr. Henry Nevil, one of its members, proposed to the then House of Commons, that a third part of the senate should *rote* out by ballot every year, and be incapable of being elected again for three years to come. *Hawkes.*

tioned a while ago, That public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which, if there be any exception, it must be of such assemblies, who act by *universal concert, upon public principles, and for public ends*; such as proceed upon debates without *unbecoming warmths, or influence from particular leaders and inflamers*; such, whose members, instead of *canvassing, to procure majorities for their private opinions, are ready to comply with general sober results, though contrary to their own sentiments*. Whatever assemblies act by these, and other methods of the like nature, must be allowed to be exempt from several imperfections, to which particular men are subjected. But I think the source of most mistakes and miscarriages in matters debated by public assemblies, ariseth from the influence of private persons upon great numbers, styled, in common phrase, *leading men and parties*. And therefore, when we sometimes meet a *few words* put together, which is called the *vote or resolution* of an assembly, and which we cannot possibly reconcile to *prudence or public good*, it is most charitable to conjecture, that such a vote has been conceived, and born and bred in a private brain, afterwards raised and supported by an obsequious party, and then, with usual methods, confirmed by an *artificial* majority. For, let us suppose five hundred men, mixed in point of sense and honesty, as usually assemblies are; and let us suppose these men proposing, debating, resolving, voting, according to the mere natural

motions of their own little or much reason and understanding; I do allow, that abundance of indigested and abortive, many pernicious and foolish overtures would arise, and float a few minutes; but then they will die and disappear. Because, this must be said in behalf of human kind, that common sense and plain reason, while men are disengaged from acquired opinions, will ever have some general influence upon their minds; whereas, the species of folly and vice are infinite, and so different in every individual, that they could never procure a majority, if other corruptions did not enter, to pervert mens understandings, and misguide their wills.

To describe how parties are bred in an assembly, would be a work too difficult at present, and perhaps not altogether safe. *Periculosa plenum opus alee*. Whether those, who are leaders, usually arrive at that station, more by a sort of instinct, or secret composition of their nature, or influence of the stars, than by the possession of any great abilities, may be a point of much dispute: but when the leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is so apt to *imitate*, so much of the nature of *sheep*, *imitatores, servum pecus*, that whoever is so bold to give the first *great leap over the heads of those about him*, though he be the worst of the flock, shall be quickly followed by the rest. Besides, when parties are once formed, the stragglers look so ridiculous, and become so insignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the
herd,

herd, which at least will hide and protect them; and where, to be much considered, requires only to be very violent.

But there is one circumstance, with relation to parties, which I take to be, of all others, most pernicious in a state; and I would be glad any partizan would help me to a tolerable reason, that because Clodius and Curio happen to agree with me in a few singular notions, I must therefore blindly follow them in all: or, to state it at best, that because Bibulus the *party-man*, is persuaded that Clodius and Curio do really propose the good of their country as their chief end; therefore Bibulus shall be wholly guided and governed by them, in the means and measures towards it. Is it enough for Bibulus, and the rest of the herd, to say, without further examining, *I am of the side with Clodius*, or, *I vote with Curio*? are these proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united wisdom of the nation*? Is it not possible, that, upon some occasion, Clodius may be bold and insolent, borne away by his passion, malicious, and revengeful? that Curio may be corrupt, and expose to sale his tongue, or his pen? I conceive it far below the dignity both of human nature, and human reason, to be engaged in any party, the most plausible soever, upon such servile conditions.

This influence of *one* upon *many*, which seems to be as great in a people *represented*, as it was of old in the commons *collective*, together with the consequences it hath had upon the legislature,

hath given me frequent occasion to reflect upon what Diodorus tells us of one Charondas, a law-giver to the Sybarites, an ancient people of Italy, who was so averse from all innovation, especially when it was to proceed from particular persons, (and, I suppose, that he might put it out of the power of men, fond of their own notions, to disturb the constitution at their pleasures, by advancing private schemes) that he provided a statute, that whoever proposed any alteration to be made, should step out and do it with a rope about his neck: if the matter proposed, were generally approved, then it should pass into a law; if it went in the negative, the proposer to be immediately *hanged*. Great ministers may talk of what projects they please; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off* (as the present phrase is) those hot, unquiet spirits, who disturb assemblies, and obstruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

Those who, in a late reign, began the distinction between the *personal* and *politic* capacity, seem to have had reason, if they judged of princes by themselves; for, I think, there is hardly to be found, through all nature, a greater difference between two things, than there is between a representing commoner, in the function of his public calling, and the same person, when he acts in the common offices of life. Here, he allows himself to be upon a level with the rest of mortals: here, he follows his own reason, and his own way,
and

and rather affects a singularity in his actions and thoughts, than servilely to copy either, from the wisest of his neighbours. In short, here, his folly, and his wisdom, his reason and his passions, are all of his own growth, not the echo or infusion of other men. But, when he is got near the walls of his assembly, he assumes and affects an entire set of very different airs; he conceives himself a being of a superior nature to those *without*, and acting in a sphere, where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no use. He is listed in a party, where he neither knows the temper, nor designs, nor, perhaps, the person of his leader, but whose opinions he follows and maintains, with a zeal and faith as violent, as a young scholar does those of a philosopher, whose sect he is taught to profess. He hath neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind is through an organ. The nourishment he receives, hath been not only *chewed*, but *digested*, before it comes into his mouth. Thus instructed, he follows the *party*, right or wrong, through all its sentiments, and acquires a courage and stiffness of opinion, not at all congenial with him.

This encourages me to hope, that, during the present lucid interval, the members retired to their homes, may suspend a while their *acquired* complexions, and, taught by the calmness of the scene and the season, reassume the *native* sedateness of their temper. If this should be so, it
would

would be wise in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the storms they have *raised*, as well as those they have *escaped*: to reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a house of Commons to lose the universal favour of the number they represent: to observe, how those, whom they thought fit to persecute for righteousness sake, have been openly caressed by the people; and to remember, how themselves sat in fear of their persons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the secret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their *masters*, they must not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuse of *setting individuals upon their shoulders*, who were hated by God and man. For, it seems, the mass of the people, in such conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by Clodius and Curio, at the head of their myrmidons, though these be ever so numerous, and composed of their own representatives.

This aversion of the people, against the late proceedings of the Commons, is an accident, that, if it last a while, might be improved to good uses, for setting the balance of power a little more upon an equality, than their late measures seem to promise or admit. This accident may be imputed to two causes: the first is, an universal fear and apprehension of the greatness and power of France, whereof the people in general seem to be very much and justly possessed; and, therefore, cannot

cannot but resent, to see it, in so critical a juncture, wholly laid aside by their ministers, the Commons. The other cause, is a great love and sense of gratitude in the people, towards their present King, grounded upon a long opinion and experience of his merit, as well as concessions to all their reasonable desires; so that it is, for some time, they have begun to say, and to fetch instances, where he hath, in many things, been hardly used. How long these humours may last, (for passions are momentary, and especially those of a multitude) or what consequences they may produce, a little time will discover. But, whenever it comes to pass, that a popular assembly, free from such obstructions, and already possessed of more power than an equal balance will allow, shall continue to think they have not enough, but, by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by *impeachments* or *dissensions* with the nobles, endeavour still for more; I cannot possibly see, in the common course of things, how the same causes can produce different effects and consequences among us, from what they did in Greece and Rome.

THE

T H E
PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS,
Set forth in their generous Encouragement of the
Author of the CRISIS*.

With some Observations on the seasonableness, candour, erudition, and style of that Treatise.

[Upon the first publication of this pamphlet, all the Scots Lords, then in London, went in a body, and complained to Queen ANNE, of the affront put on them, and their nation, by the author of this treatise. Whereupon, a proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a reward of 300 l. to discover him. The reason for offering so small a sum, was, that the Queen and ministry had no desire to have the author taken into custody.]

I Cannot, without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderness, wherewith the heads and principal members of a struggling

* It was written in the year 1712, by the consent, if not the encouragement of the ministers of that æra, in answer to the Crisis, by Sir Richard Steele. *Orrery.*

The noble commentator, who appears, in another instance, to have given an account of the works of his author, from a perusal of no more than a title† in the Dublin editions, has been betrayed into mistakes, which, if he had read the piece, he would have escaped. This tract, in the title which his Lordship consulted, is said to have been written in the year 1712: but, in that part of it which most deserves the notice of a critic, because it occasioned a complaint in the house of Lords, mention is made

† See the note on *Voyage to Brobdingnag*, chap. 6. Vol V.

struggling faction, treat those who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of these patrons, is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer, are almost *gratis*. If any of their labourers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out, upon demand, in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid; you shall be paid beforehand; every one of the party who is able to read, and can spare a shilling, shall be a subscriber; several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom; the work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking clamours, and confirm the scandal of introducing popery and the pretender, upon the Queen and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side, I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are, the *Flying Post*, Mr. Dunton, and the
author

made of a motion to dissolve the union, which did not happen till 1713. The complaint, which is said in the note to happen upon the *first* publication, was made the 2d of March 1713-14, and the pamphlet, according to the custom of printers, was dated 1714. *Harweke*.

In the style and conduct, this is one of the boldest, as well as one of the most masterly tracts that Swift ever wrote. And I cannot help observing, that, on whatever topic he employs his pen, the subject which he treats of, is always so excellently managed, as to seem to have been the whole study and application of his life: so that he appears the greatest master, through a greater variety of materials, than perhaps have been discussed by any other author. *Orrery*.

author of the *Crisis* *. The first of these, seems to have been much sunk in reputation, since the sudden retreat of the *only true genuine original author*, Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the *Dutch Gazetteer*, as *one of the best pens in England*. Mr. Dunton hath been longer and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract, entitled, *Neck or nothing*, must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit of any, which hath appeared from that side, since the change of the ministry: it is, indeed, a most cutting satire upon the Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke; and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who, from the style and manner, suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think, it might receive his Lordship's last hand. The third and principal of this triumvirate, is the author of the *Crisis*; who, although he must yield to the *Flying Post*, in knowledge of the world, and skill in politics, and to Mr. Dunton, in keenness of satire, and variety of reading, hath yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior

* Mr. Steele was expelled the House of Commons for this pamphlet, at the very same time that the House of Lords was moved against the Dean for the reply. *Hawkes*.

superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information in the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that have been shewn to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favour conferred upon the last. It hath been advertised for several months in *the Englishman*,* and other papers, that a pamphlet, called the *Crisis*, should be published at a proper time, in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form; because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at least must sink nine-pence in the shilling, and leave but three-pence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But, a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopt; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it

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* A paper written by the same author, in favour of the preceding administration. *Hawkes.*

was advertised that the Crisis could not appear, till the ladies had shewn their zeal against the Pretender, as well as the men; against the Pretender in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handsome, and endued with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the Chevalier might know, he was so far from *pretending* to a monarchy here, that he could not so much as *pretend* to a mistress.

At the destined period, the first news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's, the publisher of the Crisis, to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds, into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them, whether they have read it? they will answer, No; but they have sent it every-where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, and a pamphlet, they hear, against the ministry; talks of slavery, France, and the Pretender: they desire no more: it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelve-penny treatise will be greater gainers, than from one edition of any folio that hath been

been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us before-hand, take off as much of our ware as we please at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine, either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or no?

But in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method, than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find, that it was never intended, further than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of *Crisis*, to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the Queen and her servants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the Flying Post, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

In popish countries, when some impostor cries out, *A miracle! a miracle!* it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors; and so the cry goes round, without examining into the cheat. Thus, the whigs among us, give out the cry, *A pamphlet! a pamphlet! The crisis! the crisis!* not with a view of convincing their adversaries, but to raise the spirits of their friends, recal their stragglers, and unite their numbers by sound and impudence; as bees as-

femble and cling together by the noise of brags.

That no other effect could be imagined, or hoped for, by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it; wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities, appear so frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet towards you, the first words you perceive, are, *The crisis*; or, *A discourse*, &c. The interpreter of Suidas gives four translations of the word *crisis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge. * Next, what he calls *a discourse*, consists only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament; for as to the twelve last pages, they are provided for by themselves in the title, under the name of *some seasonable remarks on the danger of a popish successor*. Another circumstance, worthy of our information, in the title-page, is, that the crown hath been settled by *previous acts*. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unless those two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick lost their heads, may pass for exceptions. *A discourse, representing from the most authentic records, &c.* He hath borrowed this expression from some writer, who probably

* Steele addressed a letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, who appears to have been returning officer for this borough, which Steele represented in parliament. *Hawkes*.

bably understood the words; but this gentleman hath altogether misapplied them; and, under favour, he is wholly mistaken; for a heap of extracts from several acts of parliament cannot be called a discourse; neither do I believe he copied them from the most authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of some common printed copy. I grant, there is nothing material in all this, further than to shew the generosity of our adversaries, in encouraging a writer, who cannot furnish out so much as a title page with propriety or common sense.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modesty and the meaning of the first paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a *comment upon the acts of settlement*, which he *lays before them*, and *conjures them to recommend in their writings and discourses to their fellow subjects*; and he doth all this, *out of a just deference to their great power and influence*. This is the right whig scheme, of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the Crisis constitutes himself vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops, in their letters or speeches to their own clergy, proceed no further than to *exhortation*; but this writer *conjures* the whole clergy of the church, to *recommend his comment upon the laws of the land, in their writings and discourses*. I would fain know, who made him a

commentator upon the laws of the land: after which, it will be time enough to ask him, by what authority he directs the clergy to recommend his comments from the pulpit or the press?

He tells the clergy, *there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction*: the first circumstance, is their education; the second circumstance, is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the peoples minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He hath a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but hath lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or no; and, if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a well-wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when, with great difficulty, I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation, at seeing the character of

a censor,

a censor, a guardian, an *Englishman*, a commentator on the laws, an instructor of the clergy, assumed by a child of obscurity, without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the Bp. of Sarum, hath, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections under the appearance of admonitions; and is so judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for *inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution, from men who are innocent of such designs*; when he must needs confess, the whole design of his pamphlet, is to *inflame the people with apprehensions of danger* from the present ministry, whom we believe to be at least as *innocent men* as the last.

What shall I say to a pamphlet, where the malice and falshood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate, that those papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole order is abused, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style, and the barrenness of his invention, whether he doth not grossly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? hath he adhered to his character in his paper called the *Englishman*,

liffman, whereof he is allowed to be sole author, without any competition? what does he think of the letter signed by himself, which relates to Molefworth, * in whose defence he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, that because the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore, they ought not to preach temperance, because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine, who knoweth less of the constitution of England than he; witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretends to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, *from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness and the submission to absolute emperors*. This is gross ignorance, below a school-boy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman history wherein lads are instructed, reacheth little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors, we learn to have a detestation against tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none
can

* The right honourable Robert Molefworth, Esq; one of the privy council, and member of the House of Commons, created a peer by K. George I. The lower house of convocation there, preferred a complaint against him for disrespectful words, which being represented in England, he was removed from the council: to justify him against this complaint, was the subject of Steele's letter. *Hawkes*.

can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary, That the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles, by reading the histories of Rome and Greece; which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion, there was something specious; but that advanced by the Crisis, could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But, would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? it is, That they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which *if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition; but every member sent into the world, thus instructed, since the revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties.*

Here now is a project for getting more money by the Crisis; to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, *the kingdom had not been in its present condition*; but we have too many of such proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate houses and factious clubs; and who, if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said, that the factious part of this kingdom *had not been in its present condition*, or have suffered themselves

to be taught, that a few acts of parliament, relating to the succession, are preferable to all other *civil institutions* whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to one particular point, could be called a civil constitution.

He spends almost a quarto page, in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured, if they bring in the Pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them, that they have sworn, without equivocation or mental reservation; otherwise, the clergy might think, that as soon as they received the Pretender, and turned Papists, they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman, knows in his conscience, that there are not ten clergymen in England, except non-jurors, who do not abhor the thoughts of the Pretender reigning over us, much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the Bp. of Sarum, * which our author licks up, and swallows, and then coughs out again, with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain suppose the body of the clergy were to return an answer, by one of their members, to these worthy counsellors. I conceive, it might be in the following terms:

“ *My Lord and Gentleman,*

“ THE clergy command me to give you thanks
 “ for your advice; and if they knew any crimes,
 “ from which either of you were as free, as they
 “ are from those which you so earnestly exhort
 them

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

“ them to avoid, they would return your favour
“ as near as possible in the same style and manner.
“ However, that your advice may not be wholly
“ lost, particularly that part of it which relates to
“ the Pretender, they desire you would apply it to
“ more proper persons. Look among your own
“ leaders; examine which of them engaged in a
“ plot to restore the late K. James, and received
“ pardons under his seal; examine which of them
“ have been since tampering with his pretended
“ son, and, to gratify their ambition, their avarice,
“ their malice, and revenge, are now willing to restore him at the expence of the religion
“ and liberty of their country. Retire, good my
“ Lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of
“ these hypocritical insinuations, lest the Queen and
“ ministers, who have been hitherto content with
“ only *disappointing* the lurking villanies of your
“ faction, may be at last provoked to *expose* them.”

But his respect for the clergy is such, that he doth not insinuate as if they really had these evil dispositions; he only *insinuates*, that they give *too much cause* for such *insinuations*.

I will, upon occasion, strip some of his *insinuations* from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, because here he endeavours to mould up his rancour and civility together; by which constraint, he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs, and to place them in such a light, that they obscure one another. Supposing, therefore, that I have scraped off his good manners, in order
to

to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the Queen and her ministers, is but a *colour of zeal towards them*; that the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at Sacheverel's trial; that the clergy, as they are *men of sense and honour*, ought to preach this truth to their several congregations; and let them know, that the true design of the present men in power, in that, and all their proceedings since, in favour of the church, was, to bring in Popery, France, and the Pretender, and to enslave all Europe, contrary to the *laws of our country, the power of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God*.

I cannot see why the clergy, as *men of sense, and men of honour* (for he appeals not to them as men of *religion*) should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to guess whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction, indeed, may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author, or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry, any way tending towards bringing in the Pretender, or to weaken the succession of the house of Hanover? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people had the utmost apprehensions of danger to the church
under

under the late ministry; yet then it was the greatest impiety to *inflame the people with any such apprehensions*. His danger of a *popish* successor, from any steps of the present ministry, is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of inventors, pretended to be believed only by those, who abhor the constitution in church and state; an obdurate faction, who compass heaven and earth to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country: yet here, our author *exhorts the clergy* to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy, from the *whigs*, to concern themselves with politics of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr. Steele? The speeches of the managers at Sacheverel's trial, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker, and some others*, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of *some in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their country* (in which and the *coptic* Mr. Steele is equally skilled) *a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses*. This difficulty is easily solved; for, by *politics*, they mean *obedience*. Mr. Hoadley†, who is a champion for resistance, was

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never

* These persons were created peers by King George I.

† Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, created bishop of Bangor by King George I. in 1715; translated to Hereford in 1721, to Salisbury in 1723, and to Winchester in 1734.

never charged with meddling out of his function: Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of usurpation, had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so here, Mr. Steele issues out his licence to the clergy, to preach up the *danger of a popish pretender*, in defiance of the QUEEN and her administration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-house, and is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the constitution with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and, with as good a grace, blame the clergy for meddling with politics, which they do not understand. I have known many of these able politicians furnished, before they were of age, with all the necessary topics of their faction, and, by the help of about twenty polysyllables, capable of maintaining an argument, that would shine in the Crisis; whose author gathered up his little stock from the same schools, and hath written from no other fund.

But, after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addresseth himself to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very few (hardly enow, in case of a change, to supply the mortality of those *self-denying prelates* he celebrates) who are in his principles, and, among these, only such as live in and about London; which, probably, will reduce the number to about half a dozen at most. I should incline to guess the latter; because he tells them, they are *surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who*
know

know with what firmness, self-denial, and charity, the bishops adhered to the public cause, and what contumelies those clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the cause of truth. By those terms, the public cause, and the cause of truth, he understands the cause of the Whigs, in opposition to the QUEEN and her servants: therefore, by the learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry, he must understand, the bank, and East-India company, and those other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been strenuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction hath lately got the better of their interest. For, let him search all the rest of the kingdom, he will find the surrounded clergy, and the surrounding gentry, wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates, and adhering to a very different cause of truth; as will soon, I hope, be manifest, by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.

It was very unnecessary in this writer, to bespeak the treatment of *contempt and derision*, which the clergy are to expect from this faction, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern, after what manner their most mortal enemies intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God, for our sins, to visit us with so fatal an event; which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be some support to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character) where he tells us, that

noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal. What other instances of zeal hath this gentleman, or the rest of his party, been able to produce? if clamour be *noise*, it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes; and, if sedition, scurrility, slander, and calumny, be the fruit of *wrath*, read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the *zealots* of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffee-houses, in order to form a judgment of the three.

When Mr. Steele tells us, *we have religion, that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth*; it would be good to know what religion he professeth: for the clergy, to whom he speaks, will never allow him a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the *truth* of the gospel, and the *piety* and *wisdom* of its preachers, are a sufficient *support*, in an evil age, against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of *secular power*; unless God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little further, and think, that, upon some occasions, they want a little *enlargement of assistance from the secular power*, against *Atheists, Deists, Socinians*, and other heretics. Every first Sunday in Lent, a part of the Liturgy is read to the people; in the preface to which, the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which, for some years past, hath been more
wanted

wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might *insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity*; which, the author tells us, is the *policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue*. If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort, than Mr. Steele, or his faction, will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication; I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer, to employ his *ignorance and malice* together; because it gives his answerer double work: it is like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call *two mediums*, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an over-match for any single pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as, I am confident, was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph. *I never saw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions. One particular man has usually,*

in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favour and authority; the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision.

I have known a poet, who was never out of England, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of Lybia; and begin with, *so have I seen* *. Such a fiction, I suppose, may be justified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modest. This paragraph of Mr. Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a miserable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: *As when a sedition arises in a great multitude, &c. then if they see a wise, grave man, &c.* Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile, which Mr. Steele turns into a fact, after such a manner, as if he had seen it an hundred times; and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner (which is not very frequent of late years) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them: but Mr. Steele imagines such a crowd of people as this, where there is no government at all; their *unruliness* quelled, and their passions *cooled* by a particular

* See chap. 5. of the *Περὶ Βαθρύς*, vol. VI.

cular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the *man of Authority* dropt from the clouds; for, without some previous form of government, no such crowd did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any *particular man* among them. But, to pursue his scheme: This man of authority, who *cools* the crowd by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open or *clandestine tyrant*. A *clandestine tyrant*, I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knock'd on the head, or deposed, the people *calmly take further measures and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power*. All this, our author tells us, with extreme propriety, is *what seems reasonable to common sense*; that is, in other words, it seems *reasonable to reason*. This is what he calls *giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions*. To which I answer, with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to shew me, in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary proprieties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favour of *resistance*. What hath *resistance* to do with the succession of the house of Hanover, that the whig writers should perpetually affect to tag them

them together? I can conceive nothing else, but that their hatred to the QUEEN and ministry, puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by *another* revolution. Are cases of *extreme necessity* to be produced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? Should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the former hath been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites, to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from the present Lord Chancellor's speech*, in defence of Dr. Sacheverel: That *there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general rule [of obedience.]* These words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into nonsense; which, in any other author, I should suspect to have been intended us a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station: but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation, than a false comment. To see him treat my Lord Harcourt with so much civility, looks indeed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his Lordship *a very great man,*
and

* Sir Simon Harcourt, who, at the time of Sacheverel's trial, had resigned his place of Attorney-General, which he afterwards accepted again; upon the change of the ministry, he was made Lord-keeper, and in 1711 created a Baron. *Hawkes.*

and a great living authority; places himself in company with Gen. Stanhope and Mr. Hoadley; and, in short, takes the most effectual method in his power, of ruining his Lordship in the opinion of every man, who is wise or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt, for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of *resistance*, and the true revolution-principles; and, provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

We now come to the Crisis; where we meet with two pages, by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds, like a school-boy's theme, beaten general topicks, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits an hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these; That *liberty is a very good thing*; that *without liberty, we cannot be free*; that *health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either*; that *no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best*; that *men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty*; even women
and

and children love liberty ; and you cannot please them better, than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like maxims in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed, and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he hath involved them. *We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing, which we call liberty. By liberty, I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of mens living, &c.*—The true life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations—man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind.—Without liberty, our health (among other things) may be, at the will of a tyrant, employed to our own ruin, and that of our fellow-creatures. If there be any of these maxims which is not grossly defective in truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can *possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction*. In the second, he *desires to be understood to mean* ; that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, *the life of man consists in conducting his life*. In the fourth he affirms, that *mens beings are degraded, when their passions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds.*

minds ; directly contrary to the lessons of all moralists and legislators ; who agree unanimously, that the passions of men must be under the government of reason and law ; neither are laws of any other use, than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the last, our health is ruinous to ourselves and other men, when a tyrant pleases ; which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors for transmitting to us the blessing of liberty ; yet having *laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase*, I do not see how they *acted parsimoniously* ; because I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought, that I have found his meaning ; our ancestors acted parsimoniously, because they only spent their own treasure for the good of their posterity ; whereas we squandered away the treasures of our posterity too : but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a Lord Chief Justice, that by *enemies to our constitution, and enemies to our present establishment*, Mr. Steele would desire to be understood to mean my Lord Treasurer and the rest of the ministry : by *those who are grown supine, in proportion to the danger to which our liberty is every day more exposed*, I should guess he means the tories : and, by *honest men, who ought to look up*
with

with a spirit that becomes honesty, he understands the whigs. I likewise believe, he would take it ill, or think me stupid, if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that, according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet-council (except the archbishop of Canterbury *) are *enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution, and are now practising indirect arts, and mean subtilties, to weaken the security of those acts of parliament* for settling the succession in the house of Hanover. The first and most notorious of these criminals, is Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister: the second is, James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the Pretender: the third is, Henry St John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Secretary of State, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of Bar le Duc, as the late Earl of Godolphin did with that at St. Germain: and, to avoid tediousness, Mr. Bromley, † and the rest, are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions which Mr Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England, concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honour, wisdom, or justice of the QUEEN, I cannot determine; who, by her
own

* Dr. Tennison.

† Speaker of the house of Commons.

own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust, should require, I think, at least one single overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown, without danger from the Pretender, except among those who are called the whig party, the Hanover succession is then indeed in a very desperate state: that illustrious family will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest; which is most to be depended upon in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but suppose he hath gotten them fairly transcribed: I only think, that, whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament, may have a very fair action against him, for invasion of property: but this is none of my business to enquire into.

After two and twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parliament, *he desires leave to repeat the history and progress of the union*; upon which I have some few things to observe.

This *work*, he tells us, *was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her Majesty's predecessors*; although I do not remember* it was ever thought on by any, except King James I. and the late

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King

* The author's memory failed him a little in this assertion, as one of his answerers observed.

King William. I have read, indeed, that some small overtures were made by the former of these Princes, towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected, with indignation and contempt, by the English; and the historian tells us, that, how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding princes, before the revolution, ever resumed the design; because it was a project, for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity: for, I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such an union.

But, towards the end of the late King's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him, or the Princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the house of Hanover, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor, fierce, northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome, until some time after her present Majesty came to the crown, when, by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves; † and so the union

† See the Examiner, No. XIX. at the end, Vol. III.

nion became necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and, at the same time, save an obnoxious minister's head; who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon, by act of parliament, because he could not, with so much decency and safety, desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, discoursing, above six years ago, with the most considerable* person of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cause of the union.

Therefore, I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Crisis: *first*, That the union became necessary, for the cause above related; because it prevented this island from being governed by two kings; which England would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two, to reduce the Scots. *Secondly*, That it would be dangerous to break this union, at least in this juncture, while there is a Pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer among some people, who, having been the great promoters of the union, and several of them the principal gainers by it, could yet proceed so far as to propose, in the house of

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Lords,

* Lord Somers.

Lords, that it should be dissolved;† while, at the same time, those peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the Crisis hath likewise taken notice of.

But when he tells us, *the Englishmen ought, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this union*, he argues like himself. *The late kingdom of Scotland*, saith he, *had as numerous a nobility as England*, &c. They had, indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the union, upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is, indeed, so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them, according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct, until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs-general. I imagine a person of quality, prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing, she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous

† The Duke of Argyle, who zealously promoted the union, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, having been deputed on purpose, remonstrated to the Queen against the malt-tax, which, they said, would probably prompt the Scots to declare the union dissolved. The Earl of Findlater, soon after, moved the house of Lords, for leave to bring in a bill for dissolving the union. He was seconded by the Earl of Mar, and supported by Lord Eglinton, the Earl of Hay, the Duke of Argyle, and others. *Hawkes.*

merous a family of relations and servants as he found in his house. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament, are about a thirteenth. Every other Scots peer hath all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliament; and even precedence before all of the same title, that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country, now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and all the money they raise upon the public, is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the union, although their whole revenues, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of the peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotsman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to say, upon occasion of the union act; which is, that the author of the Crisis may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a paper of his, called the Englishman, of October 29th, there is an advertisement, about taking in subscriptions for printing the Crisis, where the title is published at length, with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; [*and that no power on earth can*

bar, alter, or make void the present settlement of the crown, &c. By Richard Steele.] In this extract of an act of parliament made since the union, it appears to be high treason, for any person, by writing or printing, to maintain and affirm, that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force and validity, to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof. This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown, confirmed at the union, it is probable, some friend of the author advised him to leave out those treasonable words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the advertisement; and accordingly, we find, that, in the treatise itself, he only offers it to every good subject's consideration, whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the union itself, and as the settlement of Episcopacy in England, &c. And he thinks the Scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted.

These I take to be only treasonable insinuations; but the advertisement before mentioned, is actually *high treason*; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail any thing under a jurisdiction, where cursing the QUEEN is not above the penalty of twenty merks.

Nothing is more notorious, than that the *whigs*, of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected, upon all occasions, to allow the legitimacy of the Pretender. This
makes

makes me a little wonder to see our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's narrative: but, it must be supposed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit, at this juncture, to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their directions to him, upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the succession in the house of Hanover be alterable or no. I have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but, in the turning of a leaf, he hath wholly changed his mind. He tells us, *he wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a power in their own nation, which is practised, in a much greater degree, in other states: and how hard it is, that Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security, by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line, which threaten it with destruction: whilst other nations never scruple, upon less occasions, to go much greater lengths; of which he produceth instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, can great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own?* How can a senator, capable of *doing honour to Sir Thomas Hanmer*, be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? The author of the *Conduct of the allies*, says he, *hath dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession.* The author of the *Conduct of the allies* writes sense and English;

lish; neither of which, the author of the Crisis understands. The former thinks it *wrong, in point of policy, to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state, who is guarantee, whatever necessity may happen in future times.* Now, if it be high treason to affirm, by writing, that the legislature hath no such power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange, that Britain should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that, in future ages, a necessity might happen, of limiting the succession, as well as it hath happened already?

When Mr. Steele reflects upon the many solemn, strong barriers (to our succession) of laws and oaths, &c. he thinks all fear vanisbeth before them. I think so too, provided the epithet *solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have often heard of a *solemn* day, a *solemn* feast, and a *solemn* coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself, of a *solemn* barrier. However, be that as it will, his *thoughts*, it seems, will not let him rest; but, before he is aware, he asks himself several questions; and, since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavour to give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is, *What are the marks of a lasting security?* To which I answer, That the signs of it, in a kingdom or state, are, first, good laws; and, secondly, those laws well executed. We are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter.—Secondly, *What are our tempers and*
our

our hearts at home? If by *ours*, he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnable wicked; impatient for the death of the QUEEN; ready to gratify their ambition and revenge, by all desperate methods; wholly alienated from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honour.—Thirdly, *In what hands is power lodged abroad?* To answer the question naturally, Lewis XIV. is king of France, Philip V. (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and so on. If by power, he means money; the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but, by the peculiar disposition of Providence, it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition hath no key; and that is our security.—Fourthly, *Are our unnatural divisions our strength?* I think not; but they are the sign of it; for, being *unnatural*, they cannot last; and this shews, that *union*, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature.—Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of the Princes of Europe has the longest sword?* Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong shield into those of his neighbours; or, if our sword be as sharp as his is long; or, if it be necessary for him to turn his own sword into a ploughshare; or, if such a sword happeneth to be in the hands of an *infant*, or struggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, *The powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not, in time, reach a king out to us too?* If the
powerful

powerful hand he means, be that of France, it may *reach out* as many kings as it pleaseth; but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think, even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What *crowns* or *kingdoms* hath France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former King, in consequence of that infamous treaty of *partition*; the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of by her Majesty of Great Britain; so, in effect, was Sardinia. France, indeed, once *reached out* a king to Poland; but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. Steele's, was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, *Are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived?* There may, for aught I know, be about a dozen; and those, in time, may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain Bessus, when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested, he could not fight above three duels a day. *If the Pretender should fail*, says the writer, *the French King has in his quiver a succession of them; the Duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the Dauphin her grandson.* Let me suppose the Chevalier de St. George to be dead; the Duchess of Savoy will then be a *pretender*, and consequently must leave her husband, because his Royal Highness, (for Mr. Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a King) is in alliance with her British Majesty; her sons, when they grow *pretenders*, must

must undergo the same fate. But, I am at a loss how to dispose of the Dauphin, if he happen to be King of France, before the *pretendership* to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But *the Duke of Savoy* did, some years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife; and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a *popish* successor. Is it the fault of the present, or of any ministry, that this Prince put in his claim? must we give him opium to destroy his *capacity*? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her Majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the *popish* princes, who have any pretended title to our crown, by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at! what is it they demand! Suppose the present Dauphin were now a man, and King of France, and next *popish* heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer; hath not the QUEEN as good a title to the crown of France? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female successors, as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it? But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous;

teous ; for, either the kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the Dauphin, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in a hundred among his subjects, against such a *popish pretender*.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterwards to say upon the subject of the *Pretender*.—Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself, *whether Popery and ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours ?* In this, I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live ; nor do I converse with any of their friends ; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to *Faction*, where they keep such a racket, that the whole parish is disturbed, and every night in an uproar.

Thus much in answer to those eight *uneasy questions* put by the author to himself, in order to *satisfy every Briton*, and give him an occasion of *taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular*.

After enumerating the great actions of the *confederate* armies under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. Steele observes, in the bitterness of his soul, that the
 “ British general, however unaccountable it may
 “ be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the
 “ fruits

“fruits of his glorious labour.” Ten years *fruits*, it seems, were not sufficient; and yet they were the fruitfullest campaigns that ever any general cropt. However, I cannot but hope, that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken, both of her majesty’s glory, and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious insolent subjects, had almost destroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war, in conjunction with allies, for whose sakes principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of the charge, and were connived at in their refusal, for private ends: that these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce several instances): that they encouraged persons and principles, alien from our religion and government, in order to strengthen their faction: he will tell the reasons, why the *General* and *First Minister* were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will shew many reasons, which made it necessary to remove the General and his friends, who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at an end. Particularly, the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough’s endeavouring to procure a commission to be *General for life*; where-

in justice will be done to a person at that time of high station in the law, who (I mention it to his honour) advised the Duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a *commission* *. By these, and many other instances, which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity, why this great man was dismissed at last; but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I shall therefore leave posterity to the information of better historians than the author of the Crisis, or myself; and go on to inform the present age in some facts, which this great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts, that in the Duke of Ormonde's campaign, "after a
" suspension of arms between Great Britain and
" France, proclaimed at the head of the armies,
" the British troops, in the midst of the enemy's
" garrisons, withdrew themselves from their con-
" federates." The fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Strafford to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had further orders, because an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected: this, the Imperialists and Dutch knew well enough; and therefore,

* See the Examiner, No. XIX. and subsequent papers, Vol. III.

therefore, proposed to the Duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the QUEEN's measures towards a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk, of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, although at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither, after all, was it a new thing, either in the British general, or the Dutch deputies, to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his Grace's refusal, that he presently became a partizan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the Duke, upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Doway, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormonde, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said, they should never have another so good an opportunity; but Monsieur —, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the Prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of Ormonde, to refuse fighting by express command of the QUEEN, and in order to get possession of Dũnkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal, without any such orders, or any such advantage? or, shall

a Duch deputy assume more power than the QUEEN of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

The *Emperor and the empire* (says Mr. Steele, by way of admiration) *continue the war!* Is his Imperial-Majesty able to continue it, or no? If he be, then Great Britain hath been strangely used for ten years past. Then, how came it to pass, that, of above thirty thousand men in his service in Italy, at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? if he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes of the empire (whom he is willing enough to expose) but not his own dominions. Besides, the Imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the QUEEN's death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace, that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the mean time, this appearance of the Emperor's being forsaken by his ally, will serve to encrease the clamour, both here and in Holland, against her Majesty and those she employs.

Mr. Steele says, "There can be no crime in affirming, if it be truth, that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for an universal monarchy, and to engross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war."

No

No *crime in affirming it, if it be truth*. I will, for once, allow his proposition. But, if it be false, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth so seditious a fallshood, deserves to be hanged. Doth he mean by the house of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate, that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas, they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the old foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press, write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand fallshoods, without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we, who answer them, must be at the expence of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet, we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what hath been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon, doth he mean only the French King for the time being? If so, and his assertion be true, then that Prince must either deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years victories against him, might as well have continued in the purses and veins of her Majesty's subjects.

But the *particular* assertions of this author, are easier detected, than his *general* ones: I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, *why they delivered up Traer-*

back to the Imperialists? for, as to the QUEEN, her Majesty was never once consulted in it; whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's coffee-house, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. Steele affirms, that "the French have begun the demolition of Dunkirk, contemptuously and arbitrarily, their own way." The governor of the town, and those gentlemen entrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me, that the fact is altogether otherwise; that the method prescribed by those whom her Majesty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further, that the demolition was so long deferred, in order to remove those difficulties, which the Barrier-treaty hath put us under; and the event hath shewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faster, until those difficulties were got over. The *mole* and *harbour* could not be destroyed, until the ships were got out; which, by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who gave him those just suspicions, that the *mole* and *harbour* will never be destroyed? what is it he would now insinuate; that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; or that the Pretender is to invade us from thence; or that the QUEEN hath entered into a conspiracy with her servants, to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end, but to lose the

the affections of her people, and endanger herself?

Instead of any further information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm, that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will, in a short time, be most effectually destroyed; and, at the same time, I venture to prophesy, that neither Mr. Steele, nor his faction, will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard, that the QUEEN cannot be allowed to demolish this town, in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr. Steele must have it done his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the most Christian King to be a much better friend of her Majesty's, than Mr. Steele, or any of his faction. Besides, it is to be considered, that he is a monarch, and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counsellor, and my advice to be asked, which of those two GENTLEMEN BORN * should have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I would give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in *demolishing at home*, than *abroad*.

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the Emperor over-running Italy, than from France over-running the *empire*: that his

* Mr. Steele often styles himself so.

his Imperial Majesty entertains such thoughts, is visible to the world: and although little can be said to justify many actions of the French King, yet the worst of them have never equalled the Emperor's arbitrarily keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the *golden bull*, which oblige him to deliver up every *fief* that falls, or else they must all, in the course of time, lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss, who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at some time ago, by "the powerful hand" that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around "us:" I now plainly find, he meant no other hand but his own. He hath dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he hath given leave to invade the empire next spring, with two hundred thousand men; and now at last, he deals to France the *imperial* dignity; *so farewell, liberty; Europe will be French.* But in order to bring all this about, *the capital of Austria, the residence of his Imperial Majesty*, must continue to be *visited by the plague*, of which the Emperor must die, and so the thing is done.

Why should not I venture to *deal out one sceptre*, in my turn, as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore deal out the empire to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue to this Emperor at his death; provided the whigs will prevail on the son to turn papist to get an empire, as they did upon the father to get a kingdom. Or, if this Prince be not approved of, I *deal it out*, in his stead, to the Elector of Bavaria: and, in one or other of these,

these, I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Crisis.

The design of Mr. Steele, in *representing the circumstances of the affairs of Europe*, is to signify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery, by the corruption of her Majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal; which, "having during the war supplied us with gold, in exchange for our woollen manufacture, hath only at present a suspension of arms for its protection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced; and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived:" and Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally with the rest of Europe into the gulf of France. In the mean time, let us see, what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a suspension of arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and, that they came so late, they may thank the whigs, whose false representations they were so weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain, until the peace shall be made; and such terms, after the peace, are stipulated for them, as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, *Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?* That can I; for he hath told so ma-

ny melancholy stories, without one syllable of truth, that he hath blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians, is included in the following particulars; first, *that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers*; by which are understood England and Holland: but he is too good a friend of the Dutch, to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, *that they are now abandoned and exposed to the resentment of an enraged Prince*. Thirdly, *that they always opposed the person and interest of that Prince*, who is their present King. Lastly, *that the doom is dreadful, of those who shall, in the fight of God, be esteemed their destroyers*. And if we interpret the insinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes, in charity, disposed to hope, that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biassed by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to chuse his informers. That the Catalonians were *drawn into the war by the encouragement of her Majesty*, should not, in decency, have been affirmed, until about fifty years hence; when it might be supposed, there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt, given by the prince of Hesse and others, and their invitation, that the QUEEN was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was
taken,

taken, by a most unexpected accident, of a bomb lighting on the magazine, then, indeed, the Catalonians revolted, having before submitted, and sworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the QUEEN, in order to ease the Emperor, and save his troops, stipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his Imperial Majesty should have liberty to evacuate Catalonia; upon condition of absolute indemnity to the Catalonians, with an entire restitution to their honours, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for, although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people, to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed, that King Philip did not absolutely *restore* the Catalonians to *all* their old privileges, of which they never made other use, than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West Indies, which they *never enjoyed before*. Besides, the Queen reserved to herself, the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the most Christian King was obliged to second her: for his Catholic Majesty intended no more, than to retrench those privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. *How dreadful, then,*
must

must be the doom of those, who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their Prince! and who, although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship, for the support of the Catalans, are, at this instant, spurring them on to their ruin, by promises of aid and protection!

Thus much in answer to Mr. Steele's account of the affairs of Europe; from which he deduceth the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many *popish successors* to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We must observe, *says he*, that the "person, who seems to be the most favoured by "the French King, in the late treaties, is the "Duke of Savoy." Extremely right; for whatever that Prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her Majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was France brought, with more difficulty, to yield any one point, than that of allowing the Duke such a barrier as the Queen insisted on.

He is become the most powerful prince in Italy. I had rather see *him* so, than the Emperor. *He is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon.* This is one of those facts, wherein I am most inclined to believe the author, because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore may possibly be true.

I thought, indeed, we should be safe from all popish successors, as far as Italy, because of the
prodigious

prodigious clutter about sending the Pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their *longitude*. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: he *adds to our fears* for being *too near*. So, *whether France conquer Germany, or be in peace and good understanding with it, either event will put us and Holland at the mercy of France*, which hath a quiver full of Pretenders at its back, whenever the Chevalier shall die.

This was just the logic of poor Prince Butler, a splenetic madman, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy, employed emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune, what Mr. Steele affirms, that “ treasonable books, lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at the Hanover succession, have passed almost without observation from the generality of the people;” because it seems a certain sign, that the *generality of the people* are well disposed to that illustrious family: but I look upon it as a great evil, to see seditious books *dispersed among us, apparently striking at the Queen and her administration, at the constitution of church and state, and at all religion; yet passing without observation from the generality of those in power*: but whether this remissness may be imputed to Whitehall, or Westminsterhall, is other mens business to enquire. Mr. Steele

knows in his conscience, that the *Queries concerning the Pretender*, issued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring clergyman, who was trusted with committing to the press a late book, *on the subject of hereditary right*, by a strain of the *summum jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting among thieves and pick-pockets, in the common room of a stinking jail *. I have never seen either the book or the publisher; however, I would fain ask one single person † in the world a question; why he hath so often drank the abdicated King's health upon his knees?—But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world, that Mr. Steele should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world as *additional fears of a popish successor*. I can assure him, that no good subject of the Queen, is under the least concern, whether the Pretender be converted or no, farther than their wishes, that all men would embrace the true religion. But, reporting backwards and forwards upon this point, helps to keep up the noise, and is a topic for Mr. Steele to enlarge himself upon, by shewing how little we can depend on such conversions, by collecting a list of *popish* cruelties, and repeating,

* Upon his conviction, he was committed to the Marshalsea, and, at his sentence, to the Queen's Bench, for three years. *Hawkes*.

† Parker, afterward Lord Chancellor.

ing, after himself, and the bishop of Sarum, the dismal effects likely to follow, upon the return of that superstition among us.

But as this writer is reported, by those who know him, to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather, in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe, the two last pages of his Crisis were written on a *sun-shine day*. This I guess from the general tenor of them; and, particularly, from an unwary assertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will, at once, overthrow all his foreign and domestic fears of a *popish successor*. *As divided a people as we are, those who stand for the house of Hanover, are INFINITELY superior in number, wealth, and courage, and all arts, military and civil, to those in the contrary interest; besides which, we have the laws, I say, the laws on our side. The laws, I say, the laws.* This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which, I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional securities. And, if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he assert it, (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the Pretender) there can be no danger of a *popish successor*, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the *best* among that party, and from the malice, the avarice or ambition of the *worst*; without which, Britain would be able to defend her succession against all her enemies, both at home and

abroad. Most of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates, as the consequences of this very bad peace, made by the Queen, and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated, to cut the throats of every *popish* relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confession, a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the *succession* in the house of Hanover. This *succession* is established, confirmed, and secured, by several laws; her majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security, indeed, a *security* adequate, at least, to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the Pretender brought in, and *popery* established among us, without the farther assistance of the writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man presides; a Crisis written by Mr. Steele; a confederacy of knavish stock-jobbers, to ruin credit; a report of the Queen's death; an *effigies* of the Pretender, run twice through the body, by a valiant peer; a speech, by the author of the Crisis; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her Majesty, and those she employs.

I have

I have now finished the most disgusting task that ever I undertook. I could, with more ease, have written *three* dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falshoods and absurdities of *one*. But I was quite confounded, last Wednesday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and entitled, *The Englishman, being the close of the paper so called, &c.* He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal, I found it chiefly an invective against Toby, the ministry, the Examiner, the clergy, the Queen, and the Post-boy; yet, at the same time, with great justice, exclaiming against those, who presumed to offer the least word, against the heads of that faction whom her Majesty discharged. The author likewise proposeth an *equal division of favour and employments*, between the *whigs* and *tories*; for, if the former can have no part or portion in David*, they desire no longer to be his subjects. He insists, that her Majesty hath exactly followed Monsieur Tughe's memorial †, against demolishing of Dunkirk. He reflects, with great satisfaction, on the good already done to his country, by the Crisis. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, &c.*—He gives us hopes, that

F f 3

* What portion have we in David?

† “ Tughe was deputed by the magistrates of Dunkirk to intercede with the Queen, that she would recall part of her sentence concerning Dunkirk, by causing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, and to spare the moles and dykes, which, in their naked condition, could be no more than objects of pity.”

he will leave off writing, *and consult his own quiet and happiness*; and concludes, with a *letter to a friend at court*. I suppose, by the style of *old friend*, and the like, it must be somebody *there*, of his own level; among whom his party have, indeed, more *friends* than I could wish. In this letter, he asserts, that the present ministers were not educated in the church of England, but are *new converts from presbytery*. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man must be, who invents a groundless lie, in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace, if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands, *for the satisfaction of himself and other malecontents*, “*First*, The demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk. *Secondly*, That Great Britain and France would heartily join, against the exorbitant power of the Duke of Lorrain, and force the Pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc. *Lastly*, That his Electoral Highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world, the perfect good understanding he hath with the court of England, in as plain terms as her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house, on her part.”

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then, Mr. Steele and his brother *malecontents*, must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report; or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell, whether

whether her Majesty will engage in a war against the Duke of Lorrain, to *force him to remove the Pretender*; but, I believe, if the parliament should think it necessary to address, upon such an occasion, the **QUEEN** will move that prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a *wish*, is of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth her Majesty with delivering a falsehood to her parliament from the throne; and declares, he will not believe her, until the Elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she hath so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagonists, to trouble themselves upon the *articles of his birth, education, or fortune*: for, whoever writes at this rate, of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I shall never enquire, whether he be a **GENTLEMAN BORN**, but whether he be a **HUMAN CREATURE**.

THE

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES,
and of the LATE MINISTRY, in beginning
and carrying on the present War*.

Written in the year 1712.

*Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit : partem duris Hispania bellis :
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.*

*Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis.
Victrix provincia plorat.*

P R E F A C E.

I Cannot sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of men, wholly out of favour with the Prince and people, and openly professing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raise, at this juncture, so great a clamour against a peace, without offering one single reason, but what we find in their *ballads*. I lay it down for a maxim, that no reasonable man, whether *whig* or *tory*, (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms) can be of opinion for continuing the war

* To this tract, and the *Examiners*, which make Vol. V. of the Irish edition, there is a preface in the name of the publisher, which Lord Orrery ascribes to Swift, for no other apparent reason, than to accuse him of praising himself. But, besides the incorrectness of the style, which his Lordship supposes to be affected, there is an assertion, that these papers *produced* the change in the Queen's ministry, which, even in his Lordship's opinion, they were written to *defend*, and to which they appear, by their date, as well as tenor, to be *subsequent*; an absurdity, of which Swift, even in the character of a publisher, cannot be supposed to have been guilty. *Hawkes*.

war upon the foot it now is, unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home, to the advantage of his party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say: but, as to the last, I think it highly necessary, that the public should be freely and impartially told, what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those, whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are like to be, upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who, either by writing or discourse, have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry, in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenburgh, have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders, and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us, what high articles were insisted on by our ministers, and those of the confederates, and what pains both were at, in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us, than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to, for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of
a faction,

a *faction*, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us, and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a *mock-treaty*, in which those who negotiated, took care to make such demands, as they knew were impossible to be complied with; and, therefore, might securely press every article, as if they were in earnest.

These are some of the points I design to treat of in the following discourse; with several others, which I thought it necessary, at this time, for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least, not in any circumstance so material, as to weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years wars, with perpetual success, to tell us, it is yet impossible to have a good peace, is very surprizing, and seems so different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed suspecting, that we have been either ill used, or have not made the most of our victories, and might, therefore, desire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to enquire into our present condition; how long we shall be able to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be, upon the present and future ages; and whether a peace, without that impracticable point, which some people do so much insist on, be really ruinous in itself, or equally so with the continuance of the war.

THE

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES.*

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in war, I take to be one or more of these: either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbour; to recover what hath been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received (which all political casuists allow); to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or, lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. — In all these cases, the writers upon politics admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is what hath been usually called *pro aris et focus*; where no expence or endeavour can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and, consequently, our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined, either in safety or utter destruction. But, in the other four, I believe

* This was written preparatory to the peace which the ministers were then concerting, and which was afterwards perfected at Utrecht. It begins by reflections on war in general, and then particularly mentions the several civil wars in our kingdom. — Unhappy country! torn to pieces by her own sons; a wretched mother of vultures, for whom, like Tityus, she produces new intrails, only to be devoured! *Orrery.*

This tract, and remarks on the barrier-treaty, contain the principal facts which the author of John Bull has thrown into allegory; and greatly illustrates that piece, of which indeed it is possible they were the ground-work. *Hawkes.*

A particular account of the occasion of this tract, and of the consequences it produced, may be seen in Dr. Swift's life, prefixed to Vol. I.

I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding so far, as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which, in a few years, must put them in a worse condition, than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils, for the preventing of which they first entered into the war; because this would be, to run into real, infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might, perhaps, but appear so by a probable speculation.

And, as a war should be undertaken upon a just and prudent motive, so it is still more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to consider the condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich, by a long peace and free trade; not over-pressed with many burdensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his just prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and lessen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his case, he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the latter with honour and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive; the next thing to be considered, is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for, or, when that point is found impossible

impossible to be ever obtained ; or, when contending any longer, although with probability of gaining that point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a worse condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which, in the variety of interests among the several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war, it ought to be considered, which party has the deepest share in the quarrel : for, although each may have their particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear the greatest part of the burthen, in proportion to their strength. For example : two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it will be your interest to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who possibly may not. However, that prince, whose cause you espouse, although never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you, properly speaking, are but a second. Or, a commonwealth may lie in danger to be over-run by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty : it is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistance, and help them to win a strong secure frontier : but, as they must, in course, be the first and greatest sufferers ; so, in justice, they ought to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves

all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible, that those at next door, may escape by a shower from heaven, or the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident.

But, if an ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought, at least, to have his share in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantic disposition transport him so far, as to expect little or nothing from this, he might, however, hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would, surely, think it monstrous, to find them intermeddling in his domestic affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss, pressing him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and, at every turn, threatening to break the alliance, if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general, I descend to consider those wars wherein England hath been engaged since the conquest. In the civil wars of the Barons, as well as those between the houses of York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raised, and old ones extinguished; but the money spent on both sides, was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly set all right again.

The

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against King Charles I. The usurpers maintained great armies in constant pay, had almost continual war with Spain and Holland; but, managing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland or France; the first being in this island, carried no money out of the kingdom, and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with France, we possessed great dominions in that country, where we preserved some footing till the reign of Queen Mary; and although some of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a subsidy, and two or three fifteenths, cleared all the debt. Besides, our victories were then of some use, as well as glory; for we were so prudent to fight, and so happy to conquer, only for ourselves.

The Dutch wars, in the reign of K. Charles II. although begun and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor, by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament, when he most needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the *revolution*, a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in alliance against France, to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here, the Emperor, the Dutch,

and England, were principals. About this time, the custom first began among us, of borrowing millions upon funds of interest. It was pretended, that the war could not possibly last above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted, might be easily paid in a few years, by a gentle tax, without burthening the subject. But the true reason for embracing this expedient, was, the security of a new prince not firmly settled on the throne. People were tempted to lend, by great premiums and large interest; and it concerned them nearly to preserve that government, which they had trusted with their money. The person * said to have been author of so detestable a project, lived to see some of its fatal consequences, whereof his grand-children will not see an end. And this pernicious council closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: for a set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the *revolution*, but valued themselves upon their noise and pretended zeal, when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds: these, finding that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes, of raising money, in order to create a moneyed interest, that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.

The ground of the first war, for ten years after the *revolution*, as to the part we had in it, was, to
make

* Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum.

make France acknowledge the late king, and recover Hudson's bay. But during that whole war, the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of *six* millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch. For the king was a general, but not an admiral; and, although King of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years fighting to little purpose, after the loss of above an hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the Empire and Holland, but none at all to us; and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of *partition*, by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain, were to be added to the French dominions; or, if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty, upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the several parties at the very time of transacting it, then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for the late king of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a youngerson of France; and this Prince was acknowledged for king of Spain, both by us and Holland.

It must be granted, that the counsels of entering into this war, were violently opposed by the *church-party*, who first advised the late king to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou; and particularly,

it is affirmed, that a certain *great person*, * who was then in the church-interest, told the King, in November 1701, that since his Majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; although he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad were to be in the hands of *one*, † whose advantage, by all sorts of ties, he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States, they say very truly, that “they are
“nearest and most exposed to the fire; *that* they
“are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked
“by the kings of France and Spain; *that* their
“declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing necessity;” with other expressions to the same purpose. They *desire the assistance of all kings and princes*, &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France, are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as, “the French refusing to grant the tariff promised by the treaty
“of Ryswick; the loading the Dutch inhabitants
“settled in France with excessive duties, contrary to the said treaty; the violation of the *partition* treaty, by the French accepting the king
“of

* Earl of Godolphin.

† Duke of Marlborough.

“ of Spain’s will, and threatening the States if
 “ they would not comply; the seizing the Spa-
 “ nish Netherlands by the French troops, and
 “ turning out the Dutch, who, by permission of
 “ the late king of Spain, were in garrison there;
 “ by which means, that republic was deprived of
 “ her barrier, contrary to the treaty of *partition*,
 “ where it was particularly stipulated, that the
 “ Spanish Netherlands should be left to the
 “ Archduke.” They alledged, that “ the French
 “ king governed Flanders as his own, although
 “ under the name of his grandson, and sent
 “ great numbers of troops thither to fright
 “ them; * that he had seized the city and citadel
 “ of Liege; had possessed himself of several pla-
 “ ces in the archbishopric of Cologne, and main-
 “ tained troops in the county of Wolfenbuttel,
 “ in order to block up the Dutch on all sides;
 “ and caused his resident to give in a memorial,
 “ wherein he threatened the States, to act against
 “ them, if they refused complying with the con-
 “ tents of that memorial.”

The Queen’s declaration of war, is grounded
 upon the *grand alliance*, as this was upon the un-
 just usurpations and encroachments of the
 French king; whereof the instances produced,
 are, “ his keeping in possession a great part of the
 “ Spanish dominions, seizing Milan and the Spa-
 “ nish Low-Countries, making himself master of
 “ Cadiz, &c. and, instead of giving satisfac-
 “ tion

* This, the author of John Bull calls, *frighting the children out
 of their bread and butter.* Hawkes.

“tion in these points, his putting an indignity
 “and affront on her Majesty and kingdoms, by
 “declaring the pretended Prince of Wales K. of
 “England,” &c. Which last was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was positively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowledge her Majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war, than Prussia, or any other power, who came afterwards into that alliance. Holland was first in danger, the French troops being at that time just at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration, do all, except the last, as much, or more, concern almost every prince in Europe.

For, among the several parties who came first or last into this confederacy, there were few, but who, in proportion, had more to get or to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this war, than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themselves from immediate ruin; and, by a successful war, they proposed to have a larger extent of country, and a better frontier against France. The Emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for his younger son, chiefly at the expence of us and Holland. The king of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip designed to renew the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surrounded by the other on all sides, except towards the sea; and could therefore only be defended.

fended by *maritime powers*. This, with the advantageous terms offered by K. Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war, on that side, was to be supplied by England, and the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated, that his Highness should have the dutchy of Montferrat, belonging to the duke of Mantua, the provinces of Alexandria, Valencia, and Lomellino, with other lands between the Po and Tanaro, together with the Vigevenasco, or, in lieu of it, an equivalent out of the province of Navara, adjoining to his own state; besides whatever else could be taken from France, on that side, by the confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehensions of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swallowed up his whole dutchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their *contingent* to the Emperor, alledging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after the Duke of Anjou's succeeding to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the *partition* treaty, the question here in England was, whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun? Those who were for the former, alledged the debts and difficulties we laboured under;

der ; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain ; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion from that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon, as some would pretend : that we thought it a piece of insolence, as well as injustice, in the French, to offer putting a king upon us ; and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reason to force one upon them : that it was true, the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood, as one of Austrian ; but that if we should engage in a war for dethroning the Duke of Anjou, we should certainly effect what, by the progress and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent ; I mean, an union of interest and affections between the two nations ; for the Spaniards must of necessity call in French troops to their assistance ; this would introduce French counsellors into king Philip's court, and this by degrees would habituate and reconcile the two nations : that to assist king Charles by English and Dutch forces, would render him odious to his new subjects, who have nothing in so great abomination as those whom they hold for *heretics* : that the French would, by this means, become masters of the treasures in the Spanish West-Indies : that in the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria, were in our alliance, and, by a modest computation, brought sixty thousand men into the field against the common enemy ; when Flan-

ders,

ders, the feat of war, was on our side, and his Majesty, a prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reason to boast of our success: how then should we be able to oppose France, with those powers against us, which would carry sixty thousand men from us to the enemy; and so make us, upon the balance, weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side, those, whose opinion, or some private motives, inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alledged how dangerous it would be for England, that Philip should be king of Spain; that we could have no security for our trade, while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family, nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe; because the grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever, of pursuing his design for universal monarchy. These, and the like arguments, prevailed; and so, without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war, which hath cost us sixty millions; and, after repeated, as well as unexpected success in arms, hath put us and our posterity in a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole

360 THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES.

whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I shall now particularly examine; where, I presume, it will appear, by plain matters of fact, that no nation, was ever so long or so scandalously abused, by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domestic enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude, by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest, by proving the three following points:

First, That against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and, at the same time, enriched ourselves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burthen upon us.

Upon the first of these points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: Just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful war that ever England had been engaged in; * sinking under heavy debts, of

* I was then lean, being just come out of a fit of sickness. John Bull, part 2. chap. 6. Vol. VII.

of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, although it brought no other advantage but itself; no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts as to raise armies; a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks in the hands of those who, for ten years before, had been plundering the public; many corruptions, in every branch of our government, that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which twenty years peace, and the wisest management, could hardly recover us, we declared war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change must be made in the balance, by such weights taken out of our scale, and put into theirs; since it was manifest, by ten years experience, that France, without those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran, with mighty odds, on the other side; and, in this case, nothing under the most extreme necessity, should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain; neither does the Queen's declaration of war take notice of the duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy, as a subject of quarrel, but the French King's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low

Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the pretender. In all which, we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the last : and this, although, indeed, a great affront, might easily have been redressed, without a war ; for the French court declared, they did not acknowledge the pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to Augustus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.

It is true, indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by so ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much, in the consequences of it ; and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should be governed by French influence, and French politics, might, in time, be very pernicious to our trade. It would, therefore, have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour ; and so we might have done, without injuring ourselves ; for, by an old treaty with Holland, we were bound to assist that republic with ten thousand men, whenever they were attacked by the French ; whose troops, upon the king of Spain's death, taking possession of Flanders, in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obliged to give them, by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt, but the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously, as to be able, with that assistance alone,

lone, to defend their frontiers; or, if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembering their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. At that time, they had none of those endearments to each other, which this war hath created; and, whatever hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better condition. But, our politicians, at that time, had other views; and a new war must be undertaken, upon the advice of those, who, with their partisans and adherents, were to be the sole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries complained of from France, were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to assist each other *with their own strength*.

Thus we became parties in a war, in conjunction with two allies, whose share in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However, I can see no reason from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious expences we have since been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole strength of a nation*, as understood in that treaty, to be, the utmost that a prince can raise annually from his subjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at

home or abroad, it is not, properly speaking, *his own strength*, or that of the nation, but the entire substance of particular persons; which, not being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon security, and can only pay the interest. And, by this method, one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a possibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely, it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war, and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others, which have since been mortgaged: these, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as, with prudent management, might, I suppose, have maintained an hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable *quota*, in all conscience, for that ally, who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable, as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three or four millions in debt (which hath been our case) because the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive, what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who, after ten years suffering by the unexampled politics of a nation maintaining war by annually pawning itself; and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy loads

loads of debts they had contracted; universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them; racking their invention for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition; I say, that these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and expensive war, for the same, or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expences, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so doth his inability to pay it. By the same proportion, we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer, at the same rate, it would be as great a burthen as the whole twenty. This computation being so easy and trivial, that it is almost a shame to mention it, posterity will think, that those who first advised the war, wanted either the sense or the honesty to consider it.

And as we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this profuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at least very different from those, for which we undertook the war, and often to effect others, which, after a peace, we may severely repent. This is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now, for ten years together, turned the whole force and expence of the war where

the enemy was best able to hold us at a bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conquest; utterly neglecting that part, which would have saved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to pursue; which would have soonest weakned the enemy, and must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our constant success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater, than, in all human probability, we had reason to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are passed, and now at last, like the sick man, we are just expiring, with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers of this war suppose it would continue ten years, without expecting the success we have had; and yet, at the same time, determine, that France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing our whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe, the last war left us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies, for so long a period, without involving us, and our posterity, in inextricable debts? If, after such miraculous *doings*, we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, although we should proceed without any reverse of fortune; what could we look for, in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of at least twenty years longer? Do they, indeed, think, a town
taken

taken for the Dutch, is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money ; which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the same price ?

I say not this, by any means, to detract from the army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstances ; but, when all this brings no real solid advantage to us ; when it hath no other end, than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and increase the fame and wealth of our General ; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be ; and that, surely, our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But, the case is still much harder ; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence ; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly, but, perhaps, to our own destruction ; which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more sensibly, than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain, in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants ; where all encouragement will be given, to introduce and improve manufactures, which

was

was the only advantage they wanted ; and which, added to their skill, industry, and parsimony, will enable them to under-sell us in every market of the world.

Our supply of forty thousand men, according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the Emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons : enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it ; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common cause, and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Imperial court, that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as, upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the Archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried ; and found the Emperor to have deceived either us or himself. Yet, there we drove on the war, at a prodigious disadvantage, with great expence ; and, by a most corrupt management, the only General,* who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of that kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called

* The Earl of Peterborough.

ed home in discontent. By which, our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

In common prudence, we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigour, in so fortunate a juncture; especially, since the gaining that kingdom, was the great point, for which we pretended to continue the war; or, at least, when we had *found*, or *made* that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it; but we have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy, and advantaging ourselves.

And, what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us, wherein to employ the best of our strength; which, against all maxims of British policy, we suffered to ly wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass, that the style of *maritime powers*, by which our allies, in a sort of contemptuous manner, usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and, while some politicians were shewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the West-Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *quota* of forty thousand men in Flanders; and, at the same time, by our fleets and naval forces, have so distressed the Spaniards in the north and south seas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence, except

except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do, as a *maritime power*; this, with any common degree of success, would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the Archduke. But, while we, for ten years, have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France hath been wisely engrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima, and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods, of little value; which, besides the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West-Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered, without the least attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by some private men at Bristol; who, inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did, about three years ago, with a few vessels fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts; took one of the Acapulco ships, very narrowly missed the other, and are lately returned, laden with unenvied wealth, to shew us what might have been done with the like management by a public undertaking. At least, we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished,

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in what condition must they have been, if that issue of wealth had been stopped?

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the sea was not the Duke of Marlborough's element; otherwise, the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But, it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or, if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This hath been the style of late years; which, whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise, it could hardly enter into any imagination, that, while we were confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burthen upon us, we dare not think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies; while we are ruining ourselves, to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess, with shame, that this objection is true: for, it is very well known, that, while the design of Mr. Hill's expedition* remained

* The expedition in 1711, wherein Sir Hovenden Walker commanded the fleet, and Mr. Hill the land forces, for the reduction of Quebec and Canada, and regaining the Newfoundland fishery, which the French had taken from us. *Hawkes.*

remained a secret, it was suspected, in Holland and Germany, to be intended against Peru; whereupon, the Dutch made every-where their public complaints; and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as an *insolence in the Queen, to attempt such an undertaking*; which, although it has failed, partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony, for whose relief, and at whose entreaty, it was, in some measure, designed, is no objection at all to an enterprize so well concerted, and with such fair probability of success.

It was something singular, that the States should express their uneasiness, when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them, shall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind, in all our treaties or stipulations, with any view of interest to this kingdom; and, for that very reason, I suppose, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let those, who think this too severe a reflection, examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole doth not look, as if some particular care and industry had been used to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain.

This kind of treatment from our two principal allies, hath taught the same dialect to all the rest; so

so that there is not a petty prince, whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready, upon every occasion, to threaten us, that he will recal his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however unreasonable.

Upon the third head, I shall produce some instances, to shew, how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations, by which they were bound; and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties; which may let us perceive, how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety, or honour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an offensive and a defensive: the first is to remain in force, only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance, the Emperor, England, and Holland, are parties with Portugal; in the defensive, only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance, it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland to possess, for their own, whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West Indies; yet there we are quite cut out, by consenting, that the Archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain, in as full a manner as their

late K. Charles. And, what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal, by subsequent stipulations; where we agree, that K. Charles shall deliver up Estramadura, Vigo, and some other places to the Portuguese, as soon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They, who are guilty of so much folly and contradiction, know best, whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (besides the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts) we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal's word, whenever he hath a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portuguese Majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion; and may send our fleets, whenever he pleases, upon his errands, to some of the farther parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts, till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things, not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invasion; which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown,
which

which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit; and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance, we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal, whenever we should be invaded: but in this, it seems, we are wiser; for that King is obliged to make war on France or Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this, we are to supply him with the same forces both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a *maritime power* to take upon a sudden invasion; by which, instead of making use of our fleets and arms for our own defence, we must send them abroad, for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article, we are told, what this assistance is, which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men of war: and when England and Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone, in either of these cases, these ten Portuguese men of war are to serve only upon their own coasts; where, no doubt, they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to enquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them; and, I suppose, never intended it; but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine, that the King of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them, quite through, running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which, at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier-treaty between Great Britain and Holland, was concluded at the Hague, on the 29th of October, in the year 1709. In this treaty, neither her Majesty, nor her kingdoms, have any interest or concern, further than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles: by the former, the States are to assist the Queen, in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace, till France hath acknowledged the Queen, and the succession of Hanover, and promised to remove the Pretender out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States General, that the protestant succession should be preserved in England;

land; because such a *popish* prince as we apprehended, would infallibly join with France, in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession, as they are tied to any part of a treaty or league offensive and defensive against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her Majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people; among whom, hardly one in five thousand is in the Pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch, to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! Neither perhaps is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in, to confirm our succession, by way of a guarantee, but only to acknowledge it; otherwise, we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession, without the consent of that prince or state, who is guarantee, how much soever the necessities of the kingdom may require it.

As to the other article, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France; being only the acknowledgment of her Majesty, as Queen of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own

laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up, in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain; but by this treaty, that Prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war; and after a peace, the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependencies, and four hundred thousand crowns a year from the King of Spain, to maintain their garrisons. By which means, they will have the command of Flanders, from Newport on the sea, to Namur on the Maese, and be entirely masters of the Pais de Waas, the richest part of those provinces. Further, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit, in the Spanish Low Countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and consequently, to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty, likewise, the Dutch will, in effect, be entire masters of all the Low Countries; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleasure; and in that fertile country, may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disabled manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees,

refugees, who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture encreaseth abroad, the clothing people of England will be necessitated, for want of employment, to follow; and in few years, by help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities, with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade, it is obvious, they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties, that the Dutch shall lay upon the Scheld, which is to be closed on the side of the States: thus, all other nations are, in effect, shut out from trading with Flanders. Yet, in the very same article, it is said, that *the States shall be favoured in all the Spanish dominions, as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured.* We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition, as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet *they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions.* Of all this, the Queen is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarrantee, and that they shall possess their barrier, and their four hundred

hundred thousand crowns a year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed, that this treaty was only signed by one of our plenipotentiaries *; and I have been told, that the other was heard to say †, he would rather lose his right-hand, than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself; therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only SAID it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here, rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider, in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England, and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: the Emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men

* Lord Townshend. See John Bull, part I. chap. 15. Vol. VII.

† Duke of Marlborough.

men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and *we* forty thousand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough proposed raising ten thousand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed; and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a *par*, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore, it was granted, with a condition, that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended; and, the following year, it was taken off, by concert between the General and the States, without any reason assigned, for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and some ensuing campaigns, further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and, in every new supply, the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions, although the parliament addressed the Queen, that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps; as they did, by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that now, things are just inverted. And, in all new levies, we contributed a
third

third more than the Dutch, who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than us.

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worse condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and, consequently, of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their *quota* towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived, by several steps, to such a height, that there are at present in the field, not so many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.

The Duke of Marlborough, having entered the enemy's lines, and taken Bouchain, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lille, Tournay, Doway, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and, by consequence, from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year, without going back behind the Soame to do it. In order to effect this project, it was necessary to be at an expence extraordinary, of forage for the troops, for building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, with other incident charges. The Queen readily agreed to furnish

furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her: but the States insisting, that her Majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles, which, in justice, belonged totally to them; she agreed even to that, rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent, till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contributions, submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project; since one great advantage to have been gained by it, was, as is before mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines: and one article in those treaties of contributions, is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue: whether the Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance?

The sea being the element where we might, most probably, carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed, that we should bear five eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three; and, by the grand alliance, whatever we, or Holland, should conquer in the Spanish West-Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might, therefore, have been hoped, that this *maritime ally* of ours, would have made

made up in their fleet, what they fell short in their army; but, quite otherwise, they never once furnished their *quota*, either of ships or men; or, if some few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately separated, to look to their merchants, and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship, for many months together, in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their *quota* thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion. And last year, when Sir James Wishart was dispatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would make good their agreements in so important a part of the service; he met with such a reception, as ill became a republic to give, that were under so many great obligations to us; in short, such an one, as those only deserve, who are content to take it.

It hath likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always slow in paying their subsidies; by which means, the weight and pressure of the payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the blame, if her Majesty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our allies: for, in July 1711, the King of Spain was paid all his subsidies to the 1st of January next: nevertheless, he hath since complained for want of money; and his *secretary* threatened, that if we would not further supply his Majesty, he could not answer for what might happen; although King Charles had

had not at that time one third of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he had, were neither paid nor clothed.

I cannot forbear mentioning, here, another passage concerning subsidies, to shew what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and how much they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever they think fit to call for it. The Queen was, by agreement, to pay two hundred thousand crowns a year to the Prussian troops; the States one hundred thousand; and the Emperor only thirty thousand, for recruiting; which his Imperial Majesty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to pass by Berlin, the ministers of that court applied to him for redress in this particular; and his Highness very frankly promised them, that, in consideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy thousand crowns more between them; and that the Emperor should be punctual for the time to come. This was done by that Prince, without any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch, very reasonably, refused consenting to it; but the Prussian minister here, making his applications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what resolution would be taken in Holland. It is, therefore, to be hoped, that his Prussian Majesty, at the end of this war, will not have the same cause of complaint which he had at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier by twenty thousand crowns, than at the time that war began.

The Emperor, as we have already said, was, by stipulation, to furnish ninety thousand men against the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and, in right of his family, being most concerned in the success of the war. However, this agreement hath been so ill observed, that, from the beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two last Emperors had ever twenty thousand men, on their own account, in the common cause, excepting once in Italy, when the *imperial* court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining Spain, or the Indies, to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily, that it would cost them less, to make large presents to one single person, than to pay an army, and turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands, and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared, by several instances, how little the Emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the *empire* itself was secure. It is known enough, that he might, several times, have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest: but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but

but too much provocation to take up arms, to free themselves from the oppressions under which they were groaning; yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the Emperor's indifference, or rather dislike, to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon. This design was indeed discovered here at home, by a person, whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain *great man*, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers, which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who having the curiosity to enquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found some people, deep in the secret, to have been concerned in that kind of traffic; as appeared by premiums named for towns, which no-body but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this prospect had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding; yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprize that was more his private and immediate interest: But it was manifest, that his Imperial Majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession of the allies; for, even with these discouragements, the attempt might yet have succeeded, if Prince Eugene had not thought fit to

oppose it ; which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politic reasons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived ; but when the Mareschal de Thresse's troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would, in a great measure, have been destroyed.

By a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the Emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his Imperial crown, and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the side of Italy, would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain, as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the Duke of Savoy, to make this diversion ; and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be settled : first, it was necessary to end the dispute between the *imperial* court and his Royal Highness, which had no other foundation than the Emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which, the Duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution

cution whereof, Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late Emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty, the Earl of Peterborough was dispatched to Vienna, got over some part of those disputes to the satisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated at the time the Emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event, the Duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that, until a new Emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked, was, that he should be reinforced by the imperial court, with eight thousand men before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whitworth was sent to Vienna, to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want *of ability, and not inclination*, that hindered the sending them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alledging the impossibility of complying with the Queen's demands, upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse, of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer,

but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance: to the ruin of a project, that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus, for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter-campaign the Queen was willing to give forty thousand pounds; and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which her Majesty was ready, not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that which the States were obliged to; our hopes of taking winter-quarters in the north and south parts of France, are eluded, and the war left in that method which is like to continue it longest. Can there an example be given, in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince, with whom we had to deal, in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated, that the Empire, England, and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacons to the King of Portugal, for the support of twenty eight thousand Portuguese; which number
of

of forty thousand was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after, the Emperor declared himself unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and so left the two-thirds upon us; who very generously undertook that burthen, and, at the same time, two-thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the story; for although the Dutch did indeed send their own *quota* of four thousand men to Portugal (which, however, they would not agree to, but upon condition that the other two-thirds should be supplied by us); yet they never took care to recruit them: for in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British, and Dutch forces, having marched with the Earl of Galway into Castile, and, by the noble conduct of that general, being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side: where the Queen hath, at several times, encreased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men; and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal, in six years.

The Spanish army, on the side of Catalonia, is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men, exclusive of Portugal. And here the war hath been carried on almost entirely at our cost. For this whole army is paid by the Queen, excepting only seven battalions and fourteen squadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; besides the sums
given

given to King Charles for subsidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the *imperial* recruits from time to time. And have likewise paid vast sums as levy-money for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit; although the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this hath been almost the constant misfortune of our fleet during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprize for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augsbourg, Landau, and a great part of Alsace, for the Emperor: and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the dutchy of Modena. The last Emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented, by the barrier treaty, that all those which were not in the possession of Spain, upon the death of the Catholic King, shall be part of the States dominions; and that they

they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is in effect to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that, in conjunction with our General, the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For instance: seven Portuguese regiments, after the battle of Almanza, went off with the rest of that broken army to Catalonia; the King of Portugal said, he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the Queen consented, therefore, to do it herself, provided the King would raise as many more to supply their place. This, he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord Godolphin, for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments; directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the King is to maintain. But, whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present Lord Treasurer; * who, not entering into those refinements of paying the *public*

* Earl of Oxford.

lic money upon *private* considerations, hath been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I suppose, hath put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients, of raising the price of forage, so as to force us, either to lessen our number of troops, or be at double expence in maintaining them; and this, at a time, when their own product, as well as the import of corn, was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers clothes we carried over for those troops, which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; and whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year, in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops, from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here, have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recal their soldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might *discontent the Dutch*. In the mean time, those princes never sent their contingent to the Emperor, as, by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do; but gave, for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

But, if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war, contrary to reason; if, as the other party themselves, upon all occasions,

occasions, acknowledge, the success we have had, was more than we could reasonably expect; if, after all our success, we have not made that use of it, which, in reason, we ought to have done; if we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies, suffered them tamely to break every article, even in those bargains, to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our strength, in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg expressed it) *to engage with France, was to take a bull by the horns*; and left, wholly unattempted, that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives, or what management, we are thus become the *dupes* and *bubbles* of Europe? Sure, it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate; since those among our allies, who have given us most reason to complain, are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If, in laying open the real causes of our present misery, I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us, who have been the instruments of our ruin; because it is that for which, in all probability, they have the least value. So that, in exposing the actions
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of such persons, it cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But, as it will be some satisfaction to our people, to know by whom they have been so long abused, so, it may be of great use to us, and our posterity, not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those, who act by such principles, and from such motives.

I have already observed, that when the counsels of this war were debated, in the late King's time, a certain *great man* was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment, and tell the King he could serve him no longer. Upon that Prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed; his Lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged, by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the Queen. The treasurer's staff was ready for his Lordship; the Duke * was to command the army, and the Dutchess, by her employments, and the favour she was possessed of, to be always nearest her Majesty's person; by which, the whole power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that family. This was a prospect so very inviting, that, to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any, who have so keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement, subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all

to

* Duke of Marlborough.

to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that, whether this war was prudently begun, or not, it is plain, that the true spring or motive of it, was, the aggrandizing a particular family; and, in short, a war of the *general* and the *ministry*, and not of the *prince* or *people*; since those very persons were against it, when they knew the power, and, consequently, the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people called the *monied men*; such as had raised vast sums, by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest, and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffic must very much decline, by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced; and under those several gross impositions from other princes, if any one should ask, why our General continued so easy to the last? I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable, to account for it, as by that immeasurable love of wealth, which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However, I shall wave any thing that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents, made by several princes, which the soldiers use to call *winter-foraging*, and said it was better than that of the *summer*; of two and half *per cent.* subtracted out of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and, lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long successful war, which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.

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But, when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it necessary for those, who were the chief advisers. The *whigs* were, at that time, out of all credit or consideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what was called the *tory principles*, at least as high as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments, were wholly in the church interest. These last, among whom were several persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice, and ambition, which those favourites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be sole dispensers of the royal favour. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power, and were soon crushed under it. For those in possession, finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations, while others had any credit, who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded *whigs*, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this *Solemn League and covenant*, which hath ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money, were wholly devoted to the *whigs*, who had first raised them: the army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old *despotic* administration: the *whigs* were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Mean time, our allies,

allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make the best use of it, as long as it should last. And the General's credit being raised to a great height at home, by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions; lessening their *quotas*, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them, without supplying their troops; with many other infringements: all which we were forced to submit to, because the General was *made easy*; because the monied men at home were fond of the war; because the *whigs* were not firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace. It is needless to add, that the Emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our General and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the *money-changers*, lest their *tables should be overthrown*; to the designs of the *whigs*, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering, with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted, towards that great end.

L 1 2 When

When the vote passed in the house of Lords, against any peace, without Spain being restored to the Austrian family, the Earl of Wharton told the house, that it was indeed impossible, and impracticable to recover Spain; but, however, there were *certain reasons*, why such a vote should be made at that time; which reasons wanted no explanation; for the General and the ministry, having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a set of men, with a previous bargain, to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And, accordingly, upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of Denmark's death *, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

Thus, when the Queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who, as they *waxed the fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great allies abroad, and our stock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne, by memorials and messages, jointly directing her Majesty, not to change her secretary or treasurer; who, for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did, was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country, to those princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could, to support them in power at home.

Thus,

* Prince George of Denmark, husband to Q. Anne.

Thus, it plainly appears, that there was a conspiracy on all sides, to go on with those measures, which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm an union, that, instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of her Majesty, in all the steps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story; nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons, who had skill, credit, and resolution enough, to be her instruments, in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this, by telling us, that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favourites, towards their mistress, were no longer to be borne. They produce instances, to shew, how her Majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windsor; where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, *It is better to live on the house-top, than with a scolding woman in a large house.* They would have it, that such continued ill usage was enough to enflame the meekest spirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen should be at an end of her patience,

and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits, as a continual chain of oppressions; one injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps, the old *masters of the palace* in France, became *masters of the kingdom**; and, by these steps, a *General during pleasure*, might have grown into a *General for life*; and a *General for life* into a *King*. So that I still insist upon it as a wonder, how her Majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, although disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little with those persons, who are against any peace, but what they call a *good one*; and explain themselves, that no peace can be *good*, without an entire restoration of Spain to the house of Austria. It is to be supposed, that what I am to say upon this part of the subject, will have little influence on those, whose particular ends or designs of any sort, lead them to wish the continuance of the war; I mean, the General and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of such as traffic in stocks; and, lastly, that set of factious politicians, who were so violently bent, at least, upon *clipping* our constitution, in church and state. Therefore, I shall not apply myself to any of these, but to all others indifferently, whether *whigs* or *tories*, whose private interest

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* See Dedication to Prince Posterity, in Tale of a Tub, vol. I.

is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if, among these, there be any, who think we ought to fight on, till K. Charles be quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points, which they have not thoroughly considered.

For, first, it is to be observed, that this resolution against any peace without Spain, is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel, by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both houses of parliament, to justify those, whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And, as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states, whose intentions were fair and honourable; so is it contrary to common prudence, as well as justice: I might add, that it was impious, too, by presuming to control events, which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States complaint against France and Spain, are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the *eighth article* of the grand alliance; but there is not, in any of these, the least mention of demanding Spain for the house of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

The EIGHTH Article of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

“ WHEN the war is once undertaken, none
 “ of the parties shall have the liberty to enter
 “ upon

“ upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but
 “ jointly, and in concert with the others. Nor
 “ is peace to be made, without having first ob-
 “ tained a just and reasonable satisfaction for
 “ his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Ma-
 “ jesty of Great Britain, and a particular securi-
 “ ty to the Lords the States-General, of their
 “ dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and
 “ commerce : and a sufficient provision, that the
 “ kingdoms of France and Spain be never united,
 “ or come under the government of the same per-
 “ son, or that the same man may never be king of
 “ both kingdoms ; and particularly, that the
 “ French may never be in possession of the Spa-
 “ nish West-Indies ; and that they may not have
 “ the liberty of navigation, for conveniency of
 “ trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither
 “ directly or indirectly ; except it is agreed, that
 “ the subjects of Great Britain and Holland
 “ may have full power to use and enjoy all the
 “ same privileges, rights, immunities, and liber-
 “ ties of commerce, by land and sea, in Spain,
 “ in the Mediterranean, and in all the places
 “ and countries which the late King of Spain,
 “ at the time of his death, was in possession of,
 “ as well in Europe, as elsewhere, as they did
 “ then use and enjoy ; or which the subjects of
 “ both, or each nation, could use and enjoy, by vir-
 “ tue of any right, obtained before the death of
 “ the said King of Spain, either by treaties, conven-
 “ tions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.”

Here, we see the demands, intended to be in-
 fisted

sisted on by the allies, upon any treaty of peace, are, a just and reasonable satisfaction for the Emperor and King of Great Britain, a security to the States-General for their dominions, &c. and a sufficient provision, that France and Spain be never united under the same man, as King of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the Duke of Anjou.

But to know how this new language, of *no peace without Spain*, was first introduced, and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty, which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest as well as affection engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppose him in favour of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates, whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and, by a previous treaty, parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus, the Duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the house of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the Duke's side.

However, a war was resolved; and in order to
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carry it on with great vigour, a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends, proposed to be obtained, are plainly and distinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the arms of the allies with remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms of peace, as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But, instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to further visionary prospects; advantage was taken of the sanguine temper, which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were proposed; and the old, reasonable, sober design was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here, who were sure to grow richer, as the public became poorer; and who, after the resolutions which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise was established, and the *dixieme denier* raised by *collectors in red coats*. And this was just the circumstance, which it suited their interests to be in.

The house of Austria approved this scheme, with reason; since, whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others, was to accrue to that family; while they only lent their name to the cause.

The Dutch might perhaps have grown resty under their burthen; but care was likewise taken of that, by a *barrier-treaty* made with the States, which

which deserveth such epithets, as I care not to bestow; but may perhaps consider it, at a proper occasion, in a *Discourse* by itself. *

By this treaty, the condition of the war, with respect to the Dutch, was wisely altered; they fought no longer for security, but for grandeur; and we, instead of labouring to make them *safe*, must beggar ourselves to make them *formidable*.

Will any one contend, that if, at the treaty of Gertruydenburgh, we could have been satisfied with such terms of a peace as we proposed to ourselves by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the war began; and they had reason to grant, as well as we to demand them; since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But, surely, there is some measure to be observed in this: those, who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenburgh, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience in endeavouring to work the French up to their demands; but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so very extravagant, that, in all human probability, we could not have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding

* Which Discourse follows next in this volume.

demanding what further conditions they should think fit; and in the mean time, France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries, and those of Holland; but not by the French, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy; and the ministers here, prevailed on the Queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had signed. This was an absurdity in form, as well as in reason; because the usual form of a ratification is with a preamble, shewing, *That whereas our ministers, and those of the allies, and of the enemy, have signed, &c. We ratify, &c.* The person * who brought over the articles, said in all companies, (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity we had not demanded more; for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern; and particularly, that we had not obtained some further security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the design of all this grimace, but to amuse the people, and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those, who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other issue from it, than that we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose, the continuance of the war was the thing at heart
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* Horatio Walpole, Secretary to that embassy.

among those in power, both abroad and at home; and then I can easily shew the consistency of their proceedings, otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those, who insisted on such wild demands, ever sincerely intend a peace? Did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for the country, than the least abatement of those conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a year, and an hundred thousand mens lives? Was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain, or the security of its trade, but by the French king's turning his arms to beat his own grandson out of Spain? If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance; why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries, where the enemy made so many concessions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty; no *tariff* agreed on with France or the Low-Countries; only the Scheld was to remain shut, which must have ruined our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this, they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we have already made a treaty with K. Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for settling our commerce with Spain: but whatever it were, there was another between

us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of *barrier*, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages proposed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland.

Another point, which, I doubt, those have not considered, who are against any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Christendom, since the Emperor's death, hath been very much changed. By this accident, the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance, have taken a new turn; and I believe it will be found, that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our measures, with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much, in conscience, to blunder again, by *not* changing the first, when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the house of Bourbon; but, to have the Empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person, is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this, perhaps, it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched oeconomy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distance of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an emperor, although, at the same time, king of Spain, to become formidable; on the contrary, that his dependence must continually be
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on Great Britain; and the advantages of trade, by a peace, founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expences of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in, before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become, not only poor for the present, but reduced, by further mortgages, to a state of beggary, for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this with so great an accession of strength to Austria; and then determine how much an emperor, in such a state of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Consider, that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the house of Austria, Emperor and King of Spain, and with a prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter, only king of Spain, and one of the former, uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial family, been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *augustissima casa*?

Will the house of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained, and even usurped prerogative, to settle the minds of those princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs, occasioned by the Emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine, that those princes, who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian,

as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance, upon a system contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For instance; what can the Duke of Savoy expect, in such a case? Will he have any choice left him, but that of being a slave and a frontier to France; or a *vassal*, in the utmost extent of the word, to the Imperial court? Will he not, therefore, of the two evils, chuse the least; by submitting to a master who hath no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied; rather than to another, who hath already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe, that the Empire and Spain should be united in King Charles, whatever they may now pretend. *On the contrary, it is known to several persons, that, upon the death of the late Emperor Joseph, the States resolved, that those two powers should not be joined in the same person; and this they determined as a fundamental maxim, by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by them; and, since they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it should seem that they understand the Duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.*

Thirdly, Those who are against any peace, without Spain, if they be such as noway find their private account by the war, may, perhaps, change their sentiments, if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons, for not sooner publishing this discourse; the first was, because I would
give

give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject, from general topics and reason, although they might be ignorant of several facts, which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which the war hath reduced us; at the same time I knew, that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and, at another juncture, would not only be very indiscreet, but might, perhaps, be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many, to mistake the echo of a London coffee-house, for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffee-houses have been, for some years, filled with people whose fortunes depend upon the Bank, East-India, or some other stock. Every new fund to these, is like a new mortgage to an usurer, whose compassion for a young heir, is exactly the same with that of a stock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town, the like places of resort are frequented, either by men out of place, and, consequently, enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: no wonder, then, if the general cry, in all such meetings, be against any peace, either *with* Spain or *without*; which, in other words, is no more than this, That discontented men desire another change of the ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on the old extorting rate, while they have any security to give.

Now, to give the most ignorant reader some

idea of our present circumstances, without troubling him, or myself, with computations in form; every body knows, that our land and malt-tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged, to pay interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war, is usually about six millions; to make up which sum, we are forced to take up, on the credit of new funds, about three millions and an half. This last year, the computed charge of the war, came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive, were sufficient to pay interest for; and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds among the several branches of our expence. This is a demonstration, that, if the war be to last another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the malt-tax, or taking some other method, equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider, what circumstances we shall be in, towards paying a debt of about fifty millions; which is a sixth part of the purchase of the whole island, if it were to be sold.

Towards clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire, or pay off the principal, in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually, by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt-taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and

and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left after these necessary charges, towards annually clearing so vast a debt; but believe it must be very little: however, it is plain, that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government, as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs, both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable; and that, since the struggle hath been for peace and safety, posterity, which is to partake the benefit, ought to share in the expence: as if, at the breaking out of this war, there had been such a conjuncture of affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful, that our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any thing like it, except Spain, about an hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themselves, by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since: no doubt, we shall teach posterity wisdom; but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear; and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them;

them; but, how to ensure peace, for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions, princes to entertain designs of interest or ambition, and occasions of quarrel to arise? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be said, that those *states*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourselves; for, by the circumstances of our situation, and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted than either they or the enemy; and, by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster-hall, which cost an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast, as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit, so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry: Was not all that credit built upon funds raised by the landed men, whom they now so much hate and despise? Is not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land? Must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt-tax, after a peace? If they call it credit, to run ten millions

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in debt, without parliamentary security, by which the public is defrauded of almost half; I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and, perhaps, treasonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the nation, than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink, upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate, before things grow desperate; which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

Since the monied men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge; it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that, when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest at six *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed, that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, although the persons most conversant in ways and means, employed their utmost invention; so that, of necessity, we must be still more defective next campaign. But, perhaps, our allies will make up this deficiency on our side, by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the Emperor and Holland failed,
this

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this year, in several articles ; and signified to us, some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The Emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies, the Dutch, will neither give their assistance nor consent. So that, since we have done their business, since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them ; and, lastly, since we neither desire any recompense, nor expect any thanks, we ought, in pity, to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them ; and so are we, to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from France, are made to England upon safe and honourable terms ; we, who bore the burthen of the war, ought, in reason, to have the greatest share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into separate measures of a peace ; and, by the strength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on those who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to the war, which, every year, brought

brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we must be content with such conditions as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to chuse. They have no farther occasion for fighting, they have gained their point; and they now tell us, it is *our war*; so that, in common justice, it ought to be *our peace*.

All we can propose, by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest, for running us annually four millions further in debt, without any prospect of ending the war, so well as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances must, of necessity, remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon expedients, which, in time, will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Christendom had less occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physic, instead of food. Art will help us no longer; and if we cannot recover, by letting the remains of nature work, we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used, to possess the people with a strong delusion, that Britain must infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the house of Austria? Making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an event, which, even after a war of a miraculous success, proves impracticable. As
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if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity, without changing the possessions of kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the island of Britain, unless a king of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and sea-ports to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places as would put him in a worse condition, whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present king of France has but few years to live, by the course of nature, and, doubtless, would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers in private families, are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons; and, I believe, they have much less among princes; however, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely, that Philip will be directed by a brother, against his own interest, and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in times of peace? These, at least, are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a year, than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, if we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready; we have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest, and the advancement of a private: we have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family, to enrich usurers and stock-jobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious designs of
a faction,

a faction, by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think, these *blessings* are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert, that, by parity of reason, we must expect one just so much the worse, about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt, that they did it not. Why did they insist upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow, it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with, as answerable to God, their country, and posterity; that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects, was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleasant to hear some men answer all that can be said, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man * very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us *take courage, and warranting, that all would go well.* This is the style of men at ease, *who lay heavy burthens upon others, which they would not touch with one of*

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* The late Lord Halifax.

their fingers. I have known some people such ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities, are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas, every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the interest, must at last pay the principal.

Fourthly, Those, who are against any peace without Spain, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed, that after the battle of Ramillies, the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses, and so impatient for a peace, that their king was resolved to comply upon any reasonable terms. But, when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to assist him, in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he hath received from the Spanish West Indies, which in all are computed, since the war, to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in *specie*, have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he hath since waged war in the most thrifty manner, by acting on the defensive; compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than its worth, either as to its value, or the consequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, further than providing privateers, wherewith his subjects carry on a pyratrical war at their own expence,

pence, and he shares in the profit; which hath been very considerable to France, and of infinite disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered, to an immense value, but by the general discouragement to trade, on which we so much depend. All this considered, with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shews that monarch not to be so sunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of.

Those who are against *any peace without Spain*, seem likewise to have been mistaken, in judging our victories, and other successes, to have been of greater consequence than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into *possession*, and we at home make *bonfires*. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people, to see them squandering away their fuel to so little purpose. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffee-house make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of spending three or four millions more, to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for *contributions*, and encrease the perquisites of the General?

In that war of ten years, under the late king, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and

unexperienced, in comparison with what they are at present, we lost battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: nor was there any thing decisive in their successes; they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wise *treaty of partition*, which revived the flame that hath lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war, but that the side, which can hold out longest, will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where it is carried on by sieges, the army that acts offensively, is at a much greater expence of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken in the common forms, where the besiegers have not the worse of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular, established method, which cannot fail. When the king of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it should surrender: the enemy, sensible of all this, hath, for some years past, avoided a battle, where he hath so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us, by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign,

paign, which he can so much better afford to lose, than we to take.

Lastly, Those who are so violently against *any peace*, without Spain being restored to the house of Austria, have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war hath been on foot almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or latter, it would involve us in its consequences; and that, whenever this happened, let our success be never so great against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guarantee of the treaty of Travendall, we were obliged to hinder the king of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared, even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting king Augustus. But, however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force, by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one, concluded at the Hague, by Sir Joseph Williamson, and Monsieur Lilienroot, about the latter end of the King's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not assisting Sweden, was at least as well excused by the war which we were entangled in,

as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war, the king of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? what fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and if he had really been in the French interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way; and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which K. Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus; and then, both he and the king of Sweden, join in desiring the guarantee of England and Holland. The Queen did not indeed give this guarantee in form; but, as a step towards it, the title of *King* was given to Stanislaus, by a letter from her Majesty; and the strongest assurances were given to the Swedish minister, in her Majesty's name, and a committee of council, that the guarantee should speedily be granted; and that, in the mean while, it was the same thing as if the forms were passed.

In 1708, K. Augustus made the campaign in Flanders: what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be, that he made use of, is not known: but, immediately after, he breaks through all that he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.

After this, we apprehended, that the peace of
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the empire might be endangered; and therefore, entered into an act of guarantee, for the neutrality of it. The king of Sweden refused, upon several accounts, to submit to the terms of this treaty; particularly, because we went out of the empire, to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider, what is our case at present. If the king of Sweden return, and get the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies; but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, *his enemy wherever he finds him*. In this case, the *corps* of the neutrality is obliged to oppose him; and so we are engaged in a second war, before the first be ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade, as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the *protestant interest* in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or, who shall answer, that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make our peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes, whose dominions ly contiguous, be forced to draw from those armies which act against France, we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled,
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which they now leave with us; and this recal may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest, to toil on in a ruinous war, for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or to get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, although not in the same degree, after the kingdom hath been so much exhausted. They might prolong it, till the parliament desire a peace; and, in the mean time, leave them in full possession of power. Therefore, it is plain, that their proceedings at present, are meant to serve their country directly against their private interest; whatever clamour may be raised by those, who, for the vilest ends, would remove heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better, to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give *reasonable satisfaction* to the Emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, although without adding Spain to the empire; rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn, for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off, upon our utter inability to continue the war.

S O M E

REMARKS on the BARRIER-TREATY
between her Majesty and the States-General.

To which are added, The said BARRIER-TREATY, with the two separate articles; Part of the counter-project: The sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf upon the said treaty; and, A representation of the English merchants at Bruges.

Written in the year 1712.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN I published the discourse, called, *The conduct of the Allies*, I had thoughts, either of inserting, or annexing, the Barrier-treaty at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for public information: but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that *famous treaty*, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it hath been laid before the *House of Commons*.

That

That I may give some light to the reader, who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know, that a project for a treaty of Barrier with the States, was transmitted hither from Holland; but, being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project or scheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the *counter-project*; and was the measure, whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a *treaty of barrier* with the States.

I have added a translation of this *counter-project*, in those articles where it differs from the *barrier-treaty*, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written, I suppose, while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniencies they already felt, and further apprehended from this *barrier-treaty*.

REMARKS on the BARRIER-TREATY, &c.*

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography: he would conceive their High Mightinesses, the States-General, to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome; and HER MAJESTY to be a prety

* Dr. Swift commenced the champion of Q. Anne's Tory ministry, as early as the month of November 1710, under the title of *The Examiner*, [Vol. III.] Besides which, he wrote several other papers, in defence of the Queen, the constitution, and the ministry; particularly, *Some advice to the members of the October club* [Ibid.] *The conduct of the allies*, (above, p. 344.) *Remarks on the barrier-treaty*; *The public spirit of the Whigs* (above, p. 286) (a treatise wherein we may observe how well the Doctor was acquainted with the several interests and designs of all the princes in Europe;) *The preface to the Bishop of Sarum's introduction*, (Vol. X.) and, *Some free thoughts on the present state of affairs* (Vol. VI.) These are a course of writings not to be considered in the light of *occasional pamphlets*, or little paltry *journals*, thrown into the world by some *hackney-jade*, in the defence of *corruption*, and to serve the iniquitous designs of a party. No; these writings are to be considered, and read over and over again, as lectures of true, unprejudiced, constitutional politics, calculated to expose the enemies of the public, and to maintain, at once, the honour of the crown, and the liberties of the people of England. I cannot but think, whoever is totally unacquainted with these political tracts, might be tempted to revise them carefully, were it only for the sake of extracting some points of history, which, to many thousands of the present age, are somewhat more than paradoxes.—Whoever pretends to write the history of Q. Anne's reign, without revising diligently the works of

pretty prince, like one of those to whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in his stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their *protection*; and, in return, honoured us so far, as to make use of our troops, as some small assistance in their conquests, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of Barbarians upon some of their out-lying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great-Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expence; after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, towards the close

of this great author, will produce nothing better than some lame, partial, insignificant Grub-street performance, like the rest of those vile accounts, which have already, in defiance of truth, been imposed upon the world. I am sure, the present generation of men, that is, the present generation of *landed men*, who are, in fact, the only proprietors of the whole kingdom, feel it to their cost, that Swift's reasonings are just, and that all his accounts are true. *Swift*.——Mr. Swift thinks the Dean's political tracts should have been ranged in his works, in the order in which he has mentioned them, and that his several poems, relative to those times, and which, in truth, greatly illustrate his political tracts, ought to be read in the following order, viz. *The virtues of Sid Hamet the magician's rod*, (Vol. VIII.) *The fable of Midas* (Ibid.) *Atlas, or, The minister of state* (Ibid.) *Horace, epist. vii. book 1. imitated, and addressed to the Earl of Oxford* (Ibid.) *Horace, sat. vii. book 2. part of it imitated* (Ibid.) *The author on himself* (Ibid.) *The faggot* (Ibid.) *To the Earl of Oxford in the Tower* (Ibid.)

close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion much larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition, of those States assisting to preserve her Queen on the throne, whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all her Majesty's *enemies* and *allies* put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest, to use very powerful motives with the chief advisers, (I say nothing of the person immediately employed;) and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The *counter-project* of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the *preface*; her Majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more, where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible, that *our good allies and friends* could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted?

For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, surely, might have remained ; which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us ; and which the French king hath lately yielded, in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But, let me now consider the treaty itself : among the one and twenty articles, of which it consists, only two have any relation to us ; importing, that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty, until the Queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well, that it is, in consequence, the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a *Protestant* prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues, offensive and defensive, between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any invader, with all their strength ? Such was the grand alliance between the Emperor, Britain and Holland ; which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession, to all intents and purposes, as this in the *barrier-treaty* ; and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient, without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France ; but their High Mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word *barrier*, from what it
formerly

formerly used to bear, when applied to them. When the late king was prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a *barrier* to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So, in the grand alliance of 1701, the several powers, promising to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was understood to be the recovering those provinces to the king of Spain; but, in this treaty, the style is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts, of great importance, with their chatellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible), and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch; by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders; and, upon any appearance of war, they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low-Countries; and further, the king of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year, to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder, that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the king of Spain is *not to possess one single town in the Low-Countries, until a peace be made*. The Duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained six and thirty thousand men

out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed : to which, if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late king of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies ; it is visible, what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chatellanies of this barrier, always maintained their garrisons, when they were in the hands of France ; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers ; yet the king of Spain is obliged, by this treaty (as we have already observed), to add over and above, a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a year. We know likewise, that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States ; so that, after a peace, nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this *barrier-treaty*, will, in effect, be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues, in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot, without some contempt, take notice of a sort of reasoning, offered by several people ; that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenues of those towns are spent in maintaining them. For, first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lisle, and some others. Secondly, the States, after a peace, are to have four hundred

dred thousand crowns a year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater consequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which, before, they always did, by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to King Charles III. that, while we pretend to endeavour restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join, at the same time, with the Dutch, to deprive him of his natural right to the Low-Countries?

But suppose, by a Dutch barrier, must now be understood, only what is to be in possession of the States; yet, even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant, except a *barrier* against France; whereas, several towns, demanded by the Dutch in this treaty, can be of no use at all in such a *barrier*. And this is the sentiment, even of prince Eugene himself (the present oracle and idol of the party here), who says, “that Dendermond, Ostend, and the castle of Gand, do in no sort belong to the barrier; nor can be of other use, than to make the States-General masters of the Low-Countries, and hinder their trade with England.” And further: “That those who are acquainted with the country know very well, that, to *fortify* Lier and Halle, can give no security to the States, as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the
O o 3 “people,

“ people, that those places are only fortified, in
“ order to block up Bruffels, and the other great
“ towns of Brabant.”

In those towns of Flanders, where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the king of Spain after a peace, the States have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs; under which pretence, they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This prince Eugene likewise foresaw; and, in his observations upon this treaty, here annexed, proposed a remedy for it.

And, if the Dutch shall please to think, that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient *barrier* for them; I know no remedy, from the words of this treaty, but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the Queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever shall be thought necessary* besides; and where their necessity will terminate, is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her Majesty's subjects conceive, that, in those very towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a *barrier*, either the States should demand, or our *ministers* allow, that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse than they were under the late king of Spain? yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to, or coming from Newport to Ostend, are to pay the same duties, as those that pass by the Scheld under
der

der the Dutch forts: and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that “after they had paid the king of Spain’s duty for “goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are “made liable to further duties, when they are “carried from thence into the towns of the Dutch “new conquests; *and desire only* the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the “late king of Spain, Charles II.” And, in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off eight *per cent.* from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But, what is very surprising, in the very same article, where *our good friends and allies* are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the Queen is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the king of Spain’s dominions, as her own subjects, or *as the people most favoured.* This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys play; *Cross I win, and pile you lose; * or, What’s yours is mine, and what’s mine is my own.* Now, if it should happen, that, in a treaty of peace, some ports or towns should be yielded us, for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their *boys play*, and *challenge half*, by virtue of that article: or, would they be content

* The two sides of our coin were once distinguished by *cross* and *pile*, as they are now by *heads* and *tails.* *Hawkes.*

content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among *what shall be thought necessary* for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced, as subsequent to the treaty of Munster, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves, and so prejudicial to our trade, ought, in reason, to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us, for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnership; to share in all our *beneficial bargains*, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a question, whether it were right, in point of policy or prudence, to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our succession; because, by that means, *we put it out of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how much soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it?* † To comply with the cautions of some people, I explained *my meaning in the following editions*. I was assured, that my Lord Chief Justice affirmed, that passage was treason. One of my answerers, I think, decides as favourably; and, I am told, that paragraph was read very lately, during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should have power to change the succession, whenever the necessities

† Page 377.

cessities of the kingdom require, is so very useful, towards preserving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of this opinion is, that, at first sight, it appears to be *whiggish*; but the distinction is thus: the *whigs* are for changing the succession when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consent; I think it ought never to be done, but upon great necessity, and that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentlemen of revolution principles think it impossible, that we should ever have occasion again to change our succession? And, if such an accident should fall out, must we have no remedy, until the seven provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent party among us were as able, as some are willing, to raise a rebellion, for reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dutch, as guarantees of our succession, to assist them with all their force, under pretence that the Queen and ministry, a great majority of both houses, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing over France, Popery, and the Pretender: their High Mightinesses would, as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably decide it so well, that, in some time, we might have the happiness of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities necessary to a reader, before his judgment should be allowed; these are, common honesty, and common sense; and that no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my discourse,

discourse, unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor, and her immediate heirs, have so established a reputation in the world, for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is like to appear in their days; but I must still insist, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great-Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to consider, that if, in ages to come, such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne, who should be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: the Queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation, of being guarantee of the whole barrier-treaty; of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier, and the revenues thereof, before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the king of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier, even before King Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands; although, by the fifth article of the grand alliance, her Majesty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and states, are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier,

barrier. Popish princes are here invited, among others, to become guarantees of our protestant succession; every petty prince in Germany must be intreated to preserve the Queen of Great-Britain upon her throne. The king of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles, and recover his dominions, strip him, in effect, of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France, until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, because there they only fought for themselves. K. Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction, while the Belgick lion divides the prey, and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals, without giving him a morsel; and, upon his expostulating, had only for answer, Why, firrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes, to lend their assistance, and become guarantees, out of pure good nature, for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryfwick, no care was taken, to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of succession in her present Majesty; for want of which

which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great-Britain, after the late King's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission, and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace ||. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission, or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late Majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But, when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words, in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who hath done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his first part could possibly come out; and so went on through the kingdom, while his limped slowly after; and, if it arrived at all, it was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering

ing me, is thus: of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural turns, that I would engage, by the same method, to disprove any history, either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlard-ed with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to: yet, after all, he allows a very great point, for which I contend; confessing, in plain words, that the burthen of the war hath chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch, that, next to England, they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance, of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my intelligence was, at least, as good as his; and some of it, I can assure him, came from persons of his own party, although, perhaps, not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto, therefore, the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him, or me, as they please. But I think, the great point of controversy between us, is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises, or mine? And there I will not be satisfied, unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom, brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and

sincere allies. This is the case, as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the Duke of ***, who, playing at hazard at the Groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never observed a sharper, who came once or twice under his arm, and swept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the Duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, said he, I held in very long; yet, methinks, I have won but very little. They told him, his servant had got the rest in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good fortune, to see the most important facts that I have advanced, justified by the public voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare, that I have not, wilfully, committed the least mistake. I stopt the second edition, and made all possible enquiries, among those, who, I thought, could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controversy.

But, what disgusts me, from having any thing to do with this race of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings. To give one instance in this gentleman's third part, which I have been lately looking into: When I talk of the
most

most petty princes, he says, that I mean crowned heads: When I say, the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob, or starve at home; he says, I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highway-men. This is what the *whigs* call, answering a book.

I cannot omit one particular, concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts, and contradicting mine: he affirms, that the business of Thoulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then secretary of state. It is neither wise, nor for the credit of his party, to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Thoulon did ever pass through that secretary's office: which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villainous, and the rest, to the author and his fellows.

But, to leave this author; let us consider the consequence of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value, as to think, that nothing less than the crown, can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the General. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt, and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money, for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal; we shall see our neighbours, who, in their utmost di-

stres, called for our assistance, become, by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand *veterans*, ready to invade us, from that country which we have conquered for them; and to commit insolent hostilities upon us, in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East-Indies.

*The BARRIER TREATY, between HER MAJESTY
and the STATES-GENERAL.*

“**H**ER Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain,
“ and the Lords the States-General of the
“ United Provinces, having considered how much
“ it concerns the quiet and security of their king-
“ doms and states, and the public tranquillity, to
“ maintain and to secure on one side, the succe-
“ sion to the crown of Great-Britain, in such man-
“ ner as it is now established by the laws of the
“ kingdom; and, on the other side, that the Sates-
“ General of the united provinces should have a
“ strong and sufficient barrier against France and
“ others, who would surprize or attack them:
“ and her Majesty and the States-General, appre-
“ hending, with just reason, the troubles and the
“ mischiefs which may happen in relation to this
“ succession, if, at any time, there should be any
“ person, or any power, who should call it in
“ question; and that the countries and states of
“ the said Lords the States-General were not fur-
“ nished with such a barrier: for these said rea-
“ sons, her said Majesty the Queen of Great-Bri-
“ tain,

"tain, although in the vigour of her age, and
 "enjoying perfect health (in which may God pre-
 "serve her many years) out of an effect of her
 "usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to en-
 "ter, with the Lords the States-General of the
 "united provinces, into a particular alliance and
 "confederacy, the principal end and only aim of
 "which shall be, the public quiet and tranquillity;
 "and to prevent, by measures taken in time,
 "all the events which might one day excite new
 "war. It is with this view, that her British Ma-
 "jesty has given her full power, to agree upon
 "some articles of a treaty, in addition to the trea-
 "ties and alliances that she hath already with the
 "Lords the States-General of the united provin-
 "ces, to her ambassador extraordinary and pleni-
 "potentiary, Charles Viscount Townshend, Baron
 "of Lyne-Regis, Privy Counsellor to her British
 "Majesty, Captain of her said Majesty's Yeomen
 "of the guard, and her Lieutenant in the county
 "of Norfolk; and the Lords the States-General
 "of the united provinces, the Sieurs John de Wel-
 "deren, Lord of Valburgh, great Bailiff of the
 "Lower Betewe, of the body of the nobility of
 "the province of Guelder; Frederic, Baron of
 "Reede, Lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er
 "Lee, of the order of the nobility of the pro-
 "vince of Holland and West Friezeland; An-
 "thony Heinsius, Counsellor-Pensionary of the
 "province of Holland and West-Friezeland,
 "Keeper of the Great Seal, and Superintendant
 "of the siefs of the same province; Cornelius

— “ Van Gheet, Lord of Spranbrook, Bulkesteijn, &c.
 “ Gedeon Hoeuft, Canon of the Chapter of the
 “ church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected
 “ Counsellor in the States of the province of Ut-
 “ recht; Hassel Van Sminia, Secretary of the
 “ chamber of the accounts of the province of
 “ Friezeland; Ernest Ittersum, Lord of Osterbos,
 “ of the body of the nobility of the province of
 “ Overysfel; and Wicher Wichers, Senator of the
 “ city of Groningen; all deputies to the assembly
 “ of the said Lords the States-General, on the one
 “ part, respectively, of the provinces of Guelder,
 “ Holland, West-Friezeland, Zeland, Utrecht,
 “ Friezeland, Overysfel, and Groningen, and Om-
 “ melands, who, by virtue of their full powers,
 “ have agreed upon the following articles.”

ART. I. **T**HE treaties of peace, friendship, al-
 liance, and confederacy, between
 her Britannic Majesty and the States-General of
 the united provinces, shall be approved and con-
 firmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in
 their former force and vigour, as if they were in-
 serted word for word.

ART. II. The succession to the crown of Eng-
 land, having been settled by an act of parliament,
 passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late Ma-
 jesty King William III. the title of which is, *An*
act for the further limitation of the crown, and better
securing the rights and liberties of the subject; and,
 lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her present
 Majesty, this succession having been again establish-
 ed

ed and confirmed, by another act, made for the greater security of her Majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great-Britain, &c. in the line of the most serene house of Hanover, and in the person of the princess Sophia, and of her heirs, successors, and descendants, male and female, already born, or to be born: and, although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject, by the crown and parliament of Great-Britain; if it shall happen, nevertheless, that, under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person, or any power or state, may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession, in the most serene house of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favour those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies, against her or him to whom the crown of Great-Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the States-General engage and promise, to assist and maintain in the said succession, her or him to whom it shall belong, by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession, if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking such possession, or in the actual possession of the aforesaid succession.

ART. III. Her said Majesty and the States-General, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the Emperor, the late
King

King of Great-Britain, and the States-General, the 7th of September 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low Countries.

ART. IV. And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

ART. V. And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, amongst other matters, how and in what manner the States shall be made safe, by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great-Britain will use her endeavours to procure, that, in the treaty of peace, it may be agreed, that all the Spanish Low Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

ART. VI. That, to this end, their High Mightinesses shall have the liberty, to put and keep garrison, to change, augment, and diminish it, as they shall judge proper, in the places following: namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lisle, Tournay and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall, from henceforward, be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the ports of Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St. Donas, being joined to the fortification of the Sluice, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded

yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rodenhuyfen, on this side Gand, shall be demolished.

ART. VII. The said States-General may, in case of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary, in all the towns, places, and forts, in the Spanish Low-Countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

ART. VIII. They may likewise send into the towns, forts, and places, where they shall have their garrisons, without any hindrance, and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary, for the said garrisons and fortifications.

ART. IX. The said States-General shall also have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors, and other officers as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they may be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their High Migh-
tinesses (exclusive of all others;) still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of King Charles III.

ART. X. That, besides, the States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places, and forts, which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them, in such manner as they shall judge necessary;

cessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

ART. XI. It is agreed, that the States-General shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain, at the time of the death of the late K. Charles II. and, besides, a million of livres shall be settled, for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns, every three months, out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low Countries, which the said King was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines, and other necessary expences; in the towns and places above-mentioned. And, that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expences, endeavours shall be used, for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid, as much as possible; and, particularly, for including with the jurisdiction of Ypres, that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lisle, the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

ART. XII. That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low Countries, shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any of the line of France, neither by virtue of any sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through

through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor in any other manner whatsoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority of the Most Christian King, or any one of the line of France.

ART. XIII. And whereas the said States-General, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with King Charles III. for putting the States in a condition of safety, by means of the said barrier, the Queen of Great-Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars, relating to the barrier of the States, may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention: and that her said Majesty will continue her good offices, until the above-mentioned convention, between the States and the said King Charles III. be concluded, agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that her Majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

ART. XIV. And, that the said States may enjoy, from henceforward, as much as possible, a barrier from the Spanish Low Countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And, in the mean time, the said King Charles III. shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low Countries, neither entirely nor in part: and, during that time, the Queen shall assist their High Mightinesses, to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a-year, above-mentioned.

ART.

ART. XV. And whereas their High Mightinesses have stipulated, by the treaty of Munster, in the fourteenth article, that the river Scheld, as also the canals of Sas, Swan, and other mouths of the sea, bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the side of the States :

And, in the fifteenth article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders, shall be, and remain charged with all such imposts, and other duties as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Scheld, and the other canals abovementioned.

The Queen of Great-Britain promises and engages, that their High Mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly or indirectly; as also, that the commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said treaty, be made more easy by the sea-ports, than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the united provinces, neither directly or indirectly.

And whereas, by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the same treaty of Munster, his Majesty the King of Spain is obliged to treat the subjects of their High Mightinesses, as favourably as the subjects of Great-Britain and the Hans towns, who were then the people most favourably treated; her Britannic Majesty and their High Mightinesses promise likewise, to take care that their High Mightinesses shall be treated in the Spanish Low-Countries, as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging

belonging to it, equally, and as well the one as the other, as the people most favoured.

ART. XVI. The said Queen and States-General oblige themselves to furnish, by sea and land, the succours and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said Majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms; and the most serene house of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before mentioned; and to maintain the said States-General in the possession of the said barrier.

ART. XVII. After the ratifications of the treaty, a particular convention shall be made of the conditions, by which the said Queen, and the said Lords the States-General, will engage themselves, to furnish the succours which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

ART. XVIII. If her British Majesty, or the States-General of the united provinces, be attacked by any body whatsoever, by reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

ART. XIX. There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty, as soon as possible, all the kings, princes, and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Spain and Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover. And her British Majesty and the States-General of the united provinces, and each of them in particular, shall

be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ART. XX. And as time hath shewn the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England in the person of her Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain, now reigning; and that, for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of her Majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain, after the death of the late K. William III. of glorious memory: her Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain, and the Lords the States-General of the united provinces, do agree, and engage themselves likewise, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her Majesty to the crown of Great-Britain, as also, the right of succession of the most serene house of Hanover to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France; and that France hath promised, at the same time, to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be King of Great-Britain; and that no negotiation, or formal discussions of the articles of the said treaty of peace, shall be entered into, but jointly, and at the same time with the said Queen, or with her ministers.

ART.

ART. XXI. Her British Majesty, and the Lords the States-General of the united provinces, shall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the present treaty, within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof, the under written ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British Majesty, and the deputies of the Lords the States-General, have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) *Townshend.*

(L. S.) *J. B. Van Reede.*

(L. S.) *G. Hoefst.*

(L. S.) *E. V. Itterfum.*

(L. S.) *J. V. Welderen.*

(L. S.) *A. Heinsius.*

(L. S.) *H. Sminia.*

(L. S.) *W. Wichers.*

THE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

“AS in the preliminary articles, signed here
“at the Hague, the 28th of May 1709,
“by the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Maje-
“sty, of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain,
“and of the Lords the States-General of the
“united provinces, it is stipulated, amongst other
“things, that the Lords the States-General shall
“have, with entire property and sovereignty, the
“upper quarter of Guelder, according to the
“fifty-second article of the treaty of Munster,

“of the year 1648; as also, that the garrisons
“which are, or hereafter shall be, on the part of
“the Lords the States-General in the town of
“Huy, the citadel of Liege, and in the town of
“Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be o-
“therwise agreed upon with his Imperial Maje-
“sty and the empire: and as the barrier, which
“is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty
“for the mutual guarantee between her British
“Majesty and the Lords the States-General,
“cannot give to the united provinces the safety
“for which it is established, unless it be well se-
“cured from one end to the other, and that the
“communication of it be well joined together,
“for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and
“the garrisons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and
“Bonne, are absolutely necessary: (experience
“having thrice shewn, that France having a de-
“sign to attack the united provinces, has made
“use of the places above mentioned, in order to
“come at them, and to penetrate into the said
“provinces.) And further, as, in respect to the
“equivalent for which the upper quarter of
“Guelder is to be yielded to the united pro-
“vinces, according to the fifty second article of
“the treaty of Munster, above mentioned, his
“Majesty King Charles III. will be much more
“gratified and advantaged in other places, than
“that equivalent can avail: to the end, there-
“fore, that the Lords the States-General may
“have the upper quarter of Guelder, with entire
“property and sovereignty; and that the said
“upper

"upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in
 "this manner to the said Lords the States-Ge-
 "neral, in the convention, or the treaty that they
 "are to make with his Majesty King Charles III.
 "according to the thirteenth article of the trea-
 "ty concluded this day; as also, that their gar-
 "risons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy,
 "and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be
 "otherwise agreed upon with his Imperial Ma-
 "jesty and the Empire; her Majesty the Queen
 "of Great Britain engages herself, and promises,
 "by this separate article, which shall have the
 "same force as if it were inserted in the princi-
 "pal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this,
 "as she hath engaged herself to make for the ob-
 "taining the barrier in the Spanish Low Coun-
 "tries. In testimony whereof, the under-writ-
 "ten ambassador extraordinary and plenipoten-
 "tiary of her British Majesty, and deputies of the
 "Lords the States-General, have signed the pre-
 "sent separate article, and have affixed their
 "seals thereunto."

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townsbend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) G. Hoeufte.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) H. Smimia.

(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

"AS the Lords the States-General have re-
 "presented, that, in Flanders, the li-
 "mits between Spanish Flanders and that of the
 "States, are settled in such a manner, as that
 "the land belonging to the States is extremely
 "narrow there; so that, in some places, the
 "territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to
 "the fortifications, and under the cannon of the
 "places, towns, and forts of the States, which
 "occasions many inconveniencies, as hath been
 "seen by an example, a little before the begin-
 "ning of the present war, when a fort was de-
 "signed to have been built under the cannon of
 "the Sas Van Gand, under the pretence, that it
 "was upon the territory of Spain: and as it is
 "necessary, for avoiding these, and other sorts of
 "inconveniencies, that the land of the States,
 "upon the confines of Flanders, should be en-
 "larged, and that the places, towns, and forts
 "should, by that means, be better covered: her
 "British Majesty, entering into the just motives
 "of the said Lords the States-General in this
 "respect, promises and engages herself, by this
 "separate article, that, in the convention which
 "the said Lords the States-General are to make
 "with his Majesty King Charles III. she will af-
 "fist them, as that it may be agreed, that, by
 "the cession to the said Lords the States-Ge-
 "neral of the property of an extent of land ne-
 "cessary to obviate such like, and other inconve-
 "niencies,

“ niencies, their limits in Flanders shall be en-
 “ larged more conveniently for their security;
 “ and those of the Spanish Flanders removed far-
 “ ther from their towns, places and forts, to the
 “ end that these may not be so exposed any more.
 “ In testimony whereof, the under-written am-
 “ bassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of
 “ her British Majesty, and deputies of the Lords
 “ the States-General, have signed the present
 “ separate article, and have affixed their seals
 “ thereunto.”

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townshend.

(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.

(L. S.) A. Heinsius.

(L. S.) G. Hœuft.

(L. S.) H. Sminia.

(L. S.) E. V. Ittersum.

*The ARTICLES of the COUNTER-PROJECT,
 which were struck out, or altered by the DUTCH,
 in the BARRIER-TREATY; with some Remarks.*

ART. VI. **T**O this end, their High Mighti-
 nesses shall have power to put
 and keep garrisons in the following places, viz.
 Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lille,
 Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its
 citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the fort of Perle,
 Damme, and the castle of Gand.

REMARKS. In the barrier-treaty, the States
 added the following places to those mentioned
 in this article, viz. Furnes, Ypres, towns of
 Lille,

Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas, (which is to be in property to the States) and the fort of Rodenhuyfen to be demolished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rodenhuyfen, situate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only serve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ART. VII. The said States may put into the said towns, forts, and places, and in case of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall require.

REMARKS. But, in the barrier-treaty, it is said, *In case of an apparent attack or war*, without specifying against France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ART. IX. Besides some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the King of Spain, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns; which revenues, in the barrier-treaty, are all given to the States.

ART. XI. The revenues of the chatellanies, and dependencies of the towns and places which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain, at the late King of Spain's death,

death, shall be settled, to be a fund for maintaining garrisons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges of the said towns of the barrier.

REMARKS. I desire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier-treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ART. XIV. All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions, as the Queen of Great-Britain and their High Mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the said King Charles III. relating to the said Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ART. XV. And, to the end that the said States may enjoy at present, as much as it is possible, a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the chief towns, already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS. These two articles are not in the barrier-treaty, but two others in their stead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles, when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great-Britain, as well as to the King of Spain; especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ART.

ART. XX. And whereas, by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance, between the Emperor, the late King of Great-Britain and the States-General, concluded the 7th of September 1701, it is agreed and stipulated, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from the possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, for a barrier for the States-General; therefore, the said Queen of Great-Britain, and the States-General, agree and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the restitution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, as well as the Spanish Low-Countries, with the other towns and places in the possession of France, above-mentioned in this treaty, and also after the manner specified in this treaty; as likewise, all the rest of the entire monarchy of Spain, be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ART. XXII. And whereas experience hath shewn, of what importance it is to Great-Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France, in the condition they are at present; the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses, and suffered so much in their trade, by the prizes taken from them by privateers set out from that port; insomuch, that France,
by

by her unmeasurable ambition, may be always tempted to make some enterprizes upon the territories of the Queen of Great-Britain and their High Mightinesses, and interrupt the public repose and tranquillity, for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe, against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burthensome war; therefore, the said Queen of Great-Britain, and their High Mightinesses, agree, and oblige themselves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it shall be yielded and stipulated by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and razed, and that the port be entirely ruined, and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS. These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier-treaty: whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria; and the other about demolishing Dunkirk those of Great-Britain. It is something strange, that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamour about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article, which I think clearly shews the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily to the Emperor; but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined

determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing of Dunkirk, I am not at all surpris'd to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the States, doth more nearly import Britain; and was, therefore, a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The SENTIMENTS of PRINCE EUGENE of Savoy, and of the COUNT DE SINZENDORF, relating to the Barrier of the States-General, to the upper quarter of *Guelder*, and to the towns of the Electorate of *Cologne*, and of the Bishopric of *Liege*.

ALTHOUGH the orders and instructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, upon the matters above-mentioned, do not go so far, as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding, the Prince and Count above-mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion:

First, that the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States-General may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except *Lier*, *Halle* to fortify, and the castle of *Gand*. Provided likewise, that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to, relating to *Dendermond* and *Ostend*, as places in nowise belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the castle of
Gand,

Gand, can only serve to make the States-General masters of the Low-Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lier and Halle, those who are acquainted with the country, know, that these towns cannot give any security to the States-General; but can only make people believe, that these places, being fortified, would rather serve to block up Brussels, and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, As to what is said in the seventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons in the towns of the barrier, in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said Prince and Count: who think likewise, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, that no goods or merchandise should be sent into the towns where the States-General shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of. And that to this end, the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise the quantity shall be settled that the garrisons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth article, relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts, and places where the States-General shall have their garrisons; the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the said governours and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the King of Spain as to the States-General: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent;

and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States in whatever regards the military power. But at the same time, they ought exclusively to promise the king of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the King's officers to assist them in the execution; in which case, the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth article, there is nothing to be added, unless that the States-General may repair and encrease the fortifications of the towns, places and forts where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expence. Otherwise, under that pretext, they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of these towns and places, which are to be their barrier against France; this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil œconomy of the country. But the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money of a million and a half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the King's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly, And the convention which shall be made on this affair between his Catholic Majesty and the States-General, shall be for a limited time.

These

These are the utmost conditions to which the said Prince and Count think it possible for his Catholic Majesty to be brought; and they declare at the same time, that their Imperial and Catholic Majesties will sooner abandon the Low-Countries, than take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said Prince and Count are persuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States-General may hereafter be very prejudicial to themselves; forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Ruremond and Steffenswaert, with orders to furnish the said States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonne, belonging to the Electorate of Cologne, Liege, and Huy to the bishopric of Liege, it is to be understood, that these being *imperial* towns, it doth not depend upon the Emperor to consent that foreign garrisons should be placed in them upon any pretence whatsoever. But whereas the States-General demand them only for their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a

garrison of *imperial* troops, of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector, who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the said towns.

The REPRESENTATION of the
ENGLISH MERCHANTS at *Bruges*,
relating to the Barrier-treaty.

DAVID WHITE, and other Merchants, her Majesty's subjects, residing at *Bruges*, and other towns in *Flanders*, crave leave humbly to represent,

THAT whereas the cities of *Lille*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, *Douay*, and other new conquests in *Flanders* and *Artois*, taken from the French this war, by the united forces of her Majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-General; and that we her Majesty's subjects may be made liable to such duties and impositions on trade, as the said States-General shall think fit to impose on us: We humbly hope and conceive, that it is her Majesty's intention and design, that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States-General, and not be liable to any new duty, when transported from the Spanish Netherlands to the said new conquests, as, to our great surprise, is
exacted

exactd from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other products of her Majesty's dominions, which we import at Ostend, and there pay the duty of entry to the king of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the same goods, and all others, from their dominions, by a free pass or *transire* to the said new conquests: and we are under apprehension, that, if the said new conquests be settled, or given entirely into the possession of the States-General, for their barrier, (as we are made believe, by a treaty lately made by her Majesty's ambassador, the Lord Viscount Townshend, at the Hague) that the States-General may also soon declare all goods and merchandises, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests, or new barrier; by which her Majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her Majesty's dominions, which are, and have long been declared contraband in the united provinces, such as English and Scots salt, malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c.

It is, therefore, humbly conceived, that her Majesty, out of her great care, and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot, in all the Spanish Netherlands, and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects
of



of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the king of Spain; and, by a provision, that no product of her Majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also-exported, without paying any new duty, besides that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the king of Spain; it being impossible for any nation in Europe, to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West-Indies, without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lisle; such as caradoros, cajant, picofes, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France, are to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings, and all other fish, to France, on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce, immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryfwick. The enlarging her Majesty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

END OF VOL. II.



